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MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 22, NUMBER 4

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Propaganda in the American Revolution*

Originally the term propaganda was applied to a group of cardinals whose duty was oversight of Catholic foreign missions; later it was also a college, founded by Pope Urban VIII in 1627, for the education of missionary priests. In reality propaganda is nothing more than "an effort systematically directed towards the gaining of public support for an opinion or course of action."¹ In this sense every advertiser or political party, every school of thought or church, has recourse to propaganda; in this sense Christ and His apostles were propagandists. It follows that as the end, the means, and motives, are good or bad, propaganda is good or bad. Propagandists, it should be remembered, may be sincere even when their prejudices, fallacies, and self-deception are apparent to others; for events have shown what havoc emotion and war hysteria may work with the judgment and belief of men of unquestioned integrity. Nevertheless, in the mind of the public today propaganda is insidious, intriguing, dishonest—something to be guarded against. This change in the meaning of propaganda is due to the activity of professional propagandists, persons enlisted to promote a cause, many of them acting as if all means are justified when directed to a good end.

All propaganda strives to create an attitude of mind; specifically war propaganda endeavors to produce an attitude favorable to one of the combatants, hostile to the other. Circumstances, and the identity of those to whom it is directed, will determine its features. Thus, it may attempt to arouse the people to unity, enthusiasm, and generous effort, or it may combat apathy and discouragement and maintain or bolster morale; again, it may

* A part of this study was read at the annual convention of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, May 3, 1940, in Omaha, Nebraska.

¹ This definition is taken from the Standard Dictionary.

fix its attention on the enemy, strive to frustrate his plans, expose his deceits, combat his claims, or weaken the attachment of his allies; finally, its purpose may be the winning of the sympathy or support of neutrals. In all cases it is partial; it presents one of the parties to the conflict as favorably as possible, the other as unfavorably as may be; it strives to have the war seem like a struggle between the good and the evil, between heroes and tyrants.

That propaganda was necessary to the success of the separatist movement in the American Revolutionary period needs little demonstration. The Albany Congress had revealed the disunion of the colonies. Population was not homogeneous; moreover, creeds, social conventions, commercial interests, and many other factors kept the colonies apart. There was little sense of unity, no sense of nationality. Not a few of the prominent colonists were Tories before and after 1776, and they found many of like mind among the common folk. A great many, perhaps a majority, while resentful of Britain's interference and general attitude, were unconvinced of the necessity or feasibility of such extreme measures as independence and recourse to arms. Only a minority was prepared to go any length to achieve independence. How could this minority prevail? How could it eliminate dissent, crush opposition, overcome indifference, and bring people to realize the righteousness of the new cause?

Propaganda was the answer. To this end all the channels for the communication of ideas were enlisted; the spoken and written word, the platform and pulpit, were rallied to the cause, so that a veritable deluge of letters, pamphlets, essays, books, speeches, sermons descended on the colonists, all of them conforming to Franklin's idea of presenting the patriot cause "in its best dress."

It is said that great progress has been made in the art and technique of propaganda since 1776. Methods have undoubtedly improved, and new ways of disseminating propaganda have been devised, but study of the press and literature of the time reveals the American patriots to have been no inexperienced novices. On occasion they made use of nearly all the devices of the propagandist of today, and some of them displayed the same callous disregard for ethical and moral considerations. The professionals among them were not ignorant of how to touch the heartstrings and arouse the emotions of love and hatred; they knew how to expatiate on freedom and slavery; they appreciated the value of

a hero or a scapegoat; they were aware of the effect created by identifying their cause with cherished institutions such as religion and patriotism. Moreover, they resorted to understatement, interpretation, distortion, rumor, boasting; they raised new issues to dwarf or obscure others, and they enlarged on the errors, losses, and misdeeds of the enemy. As expediency suggested they made verse, satire, parody, sheer ridicule do good service; and, finally, they made it seem that all the righteous and respectable people, and the plain men and women too, were on their side.

As is the case in every national crisis a list of American propagandists reads like a roll call of distinguished Americans. Topmost ranking must be given to Samuel Adams and Thomas Paine, for they were professionals motivated by interest. Supporting them, but less vehement in language or less untiring in effort, were John Adams, Patrick Henry, and James Otis, to mention but a few of the more eminent. But since their activities have been traced and their contributions have been assessed by other scholars,² we may content ourselves with mere mention of Paine's "Common Sense," and John Adams' "Novanglus," and fix our attention on the humbler folk whose vehicle of expression was the colonial press. Individually of less weight than the acknowledged great it may be that in the aggregate their influence was no less far-reaching. Furthermore their activity served the useful purpose of creating the impression that opposition to Britain was not confined to a group, however articulate and influential; and, since these people were not professional agitators but individual enthusiasts acting spontaneously their words are more likely to reveal the mind of America. Pieced together their contributions form a variegated mosaic.

Addressing the "Freemen of America" in May 1774 "A Philadelphian" declared³ that the conduct of the British parliament towards America for several years past "carries strong marks of insanity and folly." Future ages, he thought, would find it difficult to believe that British ancestors had sired the Americans, for so tamely had the latter submitted to outrages that "liberty, property, life, are now but names in America." In conclusion he reminded his countrymen that they were contending for the

² For example: Ralph V. Harlow, *Samuel Adams, Promotor of the American Revolution*, New York, 1923; John C. Miller, *Samuel Adams, Pioneer in Propaganda*, Boston, 1936; F. J. Gould, *Thomas Paine*, London, 1925; Gilbert Chinard, *Honest John Adams*, Boston, 1933.

³ *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, May 18, 1774.

crown and prerogative of the king, as well as liberty, property, life. At the same time New Yorkers were exhorted⁴ to every effort in the cause of freedom and the defense of their liberties; they must allow no "set of highwaymen" to despoil them of their freedom "whilst an arm can even feebly be raised for its support." Another writer who directed his remarks "To all the English Colonies of North America"⁵ appealed to their regard for the admiration and gratitude of their posterity to be won by opposition to repression, sole means of averting slavery and ruin.

In late June⁶ amazement was expressed that the late proceedings of Parliament had not "dumb-founded[sic] every Tory in America," those in Boston above all. "That sort of poor spirited animals," it was argued, "must have wagged their tails and licked the feet of their despots so long as to have lost the spirit of an ordinary cur," or they could never act as they do. And Philadelphia was told⁷ that the connection between the liberties of America and Great Britain was so intimate that the enslaving of the former must set up despotism in the latter. Indeed, the liberals of all nations had fixed their eyes on America, the last asylum of liberty. Should those who pursue her "with inexpiable rage" prevail in America "every vestige of Liberty will be obliterated from the face of the Globe."

Early in June the citizens of Philadelphia had already been impressed when a pause in business occurred, bells were tolled, flags of the ships were lowered to half-mast, and nine-tenths of the citizens, Friends alone excepted, shut up their houses.⁸ This was in fulfillment of the promise of Charles Thomson to Boston that in order to give expression to their sympathy for their compatriots in the Massachusetts metropolis they would suspend business on the first of June and request that services be held in their respective churches.⁹ Coincidentally the people of England

⁴ *Rivington's New York Gazetteer*, May 26, 1774.

⁵ *Pennsylvania Journal*, June 1, 1774.

⁶ *Massachusetts Spy*, June 23, 1774.

⁷ *Pennsylvania Journal*, June 29, 1774.

⁸ *Rivington's New York Gazetteer*, June 9, 1774.

⁹ *Ibid.*, June 30, 1774.

A reminiscence of Thomas Jefferson is not without interest. After visiting the octogenarian at Monticello in December 1824 Daniel Webster wrote down a memorandum of the conversation. Mr. Jefferson remarked: "About the time of the Boston Port Bill, the patriotic feeling in Virginia had become languid and worn out, from some cause or other. It was thought by some of us to be absolutely necessary to excite the people; but we hardly knew the right means. At length it occurred to us to make grave faces and propose a fast. Some of us, who were the younger members of the assembly, resolved upon the measure. We thought Oliver Cromwell would be a good guide in such a case. So we looked into Rushworth, and drew up our resolu-

were challenged¹⁰ to emulate their forefathers, who in their devotion to liberty were as opposed to enslaving others as to being enslaved themselves. And "Civis"¹¹ conjured his fellows to draw inspiration from their love of civil and religious rights, their regard for their children, and determine like men to be free.

In neighboring Connecticut the Committee of Correspondence inveighed¹² against ministerial wrath charged with cruelty and injustice, and offered assurance to the selectmen of Boston that they stood whole-heartedly with the loyal and patriotic town of Boston. Furthermore they denounced the ministers, merchants, barristers, and attorneys who in defiance of the sentiments of their fellow townsmen had drawn up a recent "fawning, adulating address to Governor Hutchinson, the scourge of the province which gave him birth and the pest of America."

The same issue of *The Spy* sprang to the defense of Massachusetts Bay, denounced the outcry raised against her, and while admitting that some of the publications originating there had better been suppressed, declared her people to be "moral, religious, quiet and loyal," affectionately attached to the welfare of Great Britain and dearly valuing their dependence on her. The Father of mercies, it was said, who gave us existence and formed us for society, intended our happiness and consequently never meant us to be the slaves of Britons.

Similarly a rousing address to the freemen of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania by "A Plaindealer"¹³ reminded them that if they were enslaved they must blame themselves, not their enemies. In the crisis they must draw inspiration from the tradition of their ancestors, and from the realization that their fate and that of their wives, children, and distant posterity rested with them. God, said he, had marked out this country as a land of refuge for the distressed of all nations. Therefore even if har-

tions after the most pious and praiseworthy examples. It would hardly have been in character for us to present them ourselves. We applied therefore to Mr. Nicholas, a grave and religious man; he proposed them in a set and solemn speech; some of us gravely seconded him, and the resolutions were passed unanimously. . . . Our fast produced very considerable effect. We all agreed to go home and see that preachers were provided in the counties, and notice given to our people. I came home to my own county, provided a preacher, and notified the people, who came together in great multitudes, wondering what it meant." Fletcher Webster, ed., *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster*, 18 vols., Boston, 1903, XVII, 368-369.

¹⁰ *Massachusetts Spy*, June 30, 1774.

¹¹ *Pennsylvania Journal*, July 6, 1774.

¹² *Massachusetts Spy*, July 7, 1774.

¹³ *Pennsylvania Journal*, July 13, 1774.

assed to madness, and menaced with Tyburn if they complained, they must put their trust in Him.

Visual argument for unity was presented when the *Pennsylvania Journal*¹⁴ placed at its masthead a serpent divided into ten parts, each segment bearing the name of a colony. This device, with the caption "Unite or Die," expressed the need for concerted action in a manner intelligible to all.¹⁵ To combat the fallacy that their interests were not involved in the fate of remote Boston, South Carolinians were reminded¹⁶ how just as an enemy always aims at the heart so ministerial vengeance had aimed at Boston because "there lie the vitals of American freedom," a fact well known to everyone.

By January 1775 the colonial cause could lay claim to "converts,"¹⁷ among them "Chance," who was so overcome by remorse that he declared he could not pass another hour of life without resigning the most odious office any man sustained, and publicly confessing his offense. This "odious office," inherited by the penitent, was master of stag hounds with annual emolument of £2000. Scion of a distinguished family "Chance" had sailed on a brig laden with tea in order to acquire "a perfect knowledge of the pestiferous sons of liberty." Shipwreck spared his life and brought him into contact with those he had detested. Conversion followed. "I was a most wretched Tory," he laments, "but now a staunch Whig, and I think my change is saving, as I hope for salvation in no other way." But not content with mere profession of faith he was bent upon good works; he would forswear his native land, and resign his lucrative sinecure "for the pleasure and satisfaction I hope to enjoy among the glorious freemen of America."

In the same newssheet another patriot avowed his ignorance of what further misdeeds were meditated by the "men of blood," but he feared there were good grounds for anticipating many things. In this belief he was not alone, for previously an enumeration of American grievances in a speech at Lewestown on the Delaware had listed them under twenty-seven heads.¹⁸ And the enumerator concluded with the observation that this "dreadful catalogue" could not be complete because he knew some items had escaped his memory.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, July 27, 1774.

¹⁵ In January 1775 the *Massachusetts Spy* appended to its masthead a divided serpent about to be attacked by a dragon.

¹⁶ *Massachusetts Spy*, July 28, 1774.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, January 12, 1775.

¹⁸ *Pennsylvania Journal*, August 3, 1774.

Simultaneously the *Boston Gazette* refuted the calumnies which had appeared in Rivington's New York paper.¹⁹ Their purpose was found to be misrepresentation of Boston to her sister colonies, and an attempt to make it appear that New Yorkers regarded New Englanders as "hypocrites, independents, persecutors, and what not." The source of these "dirty, malicious paragraphs and extracts from letters" it traced to a "little junto of hireling prostitutes placed under the command of an unsavory high-flying jacobite priest," recently arrived in Boston to plot with local brethren the division of the colonies, and the frustration of the resolutions and recommendations of the Continental Congress for the recovery of rights and prevention of slavery. Still another consideration was the remuneration of the conspirators "while in the services of Dr. Faustus and the Devil." Citizens of New York, it was asserted, held this group in the same contempt that Bostonians accorded "Philanthrop" and his tribe.

In mid-January too²⁰ appeared the first of a series of apologies for the Boston Tea Party in what purported to be an extract from a London publication. That memorable action is found to be no act of rebellion but an honorable deed, warranted by the law of nature, and hence not illegal. Passive obedience under the circumstances would have been treason, and therefore displeasing to God. Wise and virtuous men, good citizens, or true patriots could not have done otherwise. Readers, except the few who open their eyes to just that degree of truth their prejudices will tolerate, must agree that the Bostonians "did what was strictly consonant with right and justice" in destroying the tea, and yet, they are pursued by British vengeance. Nevertheless, they must be deemed true patriots whose names when revealed will be held in veneration by their countrymen. For what they did was morally and politically necessary; it was wise and just; in reality it was an act of self-defense, and, considering the provocation, it is remarkable that there was no disorder, no incivility to anyone, no damage to anything but the tea.

To discredit Tories still further Sam Adams notified the public²¹ that the committee of which he was chairman was not disturbed when its conduct was misrepresented and its characters aspersed by the "enemies of truth and liberty." So convinced

¹⁹ *Boston Gazette*, January 16, 1775; *Newport Mercury*, January 30, 1775.

²⁰ *Massachusetts Spy*, January 19, 1775.

²¹ *Boston Gazette*, January 23, 1775; *Newport Mercury*, January 30, 1775.

were the members of the committee of the disinterestedness of their motives and conduct that they could safely "appeal to the omniscient Being for their Sincerity." Once again Rivington was pilloried when friends of the patriot cause were instructed to pay no attention to his "false and lying extracts."²² His good faith was challenged; even he could not believe that the "Farmer of Pennsylvania" had deserted the colonial cause! And the canard that the "Suffolk Resolves" were approved by Congress after thirty-two bumpers of Madeira was said to betray the desperation of the Tories, and to reveal that they were not loathe to stoop to unblushing falsehood and base calumny. Within a month Rivington was again indicted for lying²³ inasmuch as he printed what he said was a handbill circulated in Boston, whereas it was unknown to anyone in that city till brought to their notice by his "faithful and immaculate Paper." Rivington however was pronounced quite harmless because "he had been detected in so many fibs, and so many gross slanders" of illustrious Americans.

A second apology for the "Tea Party," a curious specimen of mental legerdemain appeared in the form of an address to all freeborn Americans.²⁴ The argument is unusual, the conclusion still more astounding. Starting with the premise that if the agents had not opposed the Tea Act they would have evinced too little regard for the good of the country, and would have forsworn the sacred right of self-governance, the apologist concludes that "the good of their country was their sole incitement to this noble action." But since Scripture makes love of one's brother, and, *a fortiori*, love of one's country the test of "our having the fear of God before our eyes," it follows that in having the good of their country at heart they had "the fear of God there too."

An instance of skillful blending of political and religious appeal is to be found in the press account of the celebration of November 5 in Charleston, South Carolina.²⁵ On this occasion figures representative of Lord North, Governor Hutchinson, the Devil, and the Pope occupied the stage. After being paraded about the town during the day these associated plotters were burnt in the evening with seventy-five barrels of tar. At the same time a fantasy entitled "Dialogue between General Wolfe and General Gage in a Wood near Boston" ran the gamut of the

²² *Ibid.*, January 30, 1775.

²³ *Ibid.*, February 27, 1775.

²⁴ *Massachusetts Spy*, February 2, 1775.

²⁵ *Newport Mercury*, January 23, 1775.

colonial press. In this necromantic discourse one of the generals avers that "popery and French laws in Canada" are but a part of the system of despotism which has been prepared for the colonies.

Difficulties were multiplying for Tories. Incapable of reasoning patriots out of their sentiments they were said²⁶ to be resorting to indirection and intimidation. But their intrigues were exposed and they were detested—"they bellow to the winds." Solomon Southwick, the enterprising publisher of the *Newport Mercury* apprised two British army officers²⁷ that Americans "are not such jack-asses as to be rid to death by such tyrants as you are stupidly endeavoring to mount upon their backs." And a query addressed to the same Southwick by R. Barclay²⁸ inquired how long it would be till popery is established in the colonies "with the hellish court of inquisition, to torture, roast, rack, and butcher, nonconforming protestants."

Uncertain times these were, for "A Watchman" saw in them²⁹ an opportunity for ministerial tyrants to threaten the people with total loss of their liberties, while the provincial congress of Massachusetts³⁰ besought the blessing of God "upon all the British Empire, upon GEORGE the third, our rightful KING, and upon all the Royal Family, that they may be great and lasting blessings to the world."

The evils endured by the colonies were already galling certain spirits with the result that tabulations of grievances were drawn up. One of these listed³¹ the defrauding of the people of their money, the streets of our capital stained with innocent blood shed by military murderers, abridgment of liberty and subversion of the constitution, invasion by sea and land, our lives and property in jeopardy, our frontier menaced. "Does the English language afford words expressive of one half the hostile treatment, the cruel and unparalleled injuries, this colony has suffered within these few years past, from the parent state?"

With the situation growing daily more tense Boston's commemoration of the "massacre" became the occasion for whipping up the emotions. Joseph Warren occupied the pulpit of the Old South meeting-house; among his utterances was the following:

²⁶ *Pennsylvania Packet*, February 20, 1775.

²⁷ *Newport Mercury*, March 6, 1775.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, March 13, 1775.

²⁹ *Massachusetts Spy*, February 23, 1775.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, February 23, 1775.

³¹ *Ibid.*, March 2, 1775.

Approach we then the melancholy walk of death. Hither let me call the gay companion, here let him drop a farewell tear upon that body which so late he saw vigorous and warm with social mirth—hither let me lead the tender mother to weep over her beloved son—come widowed mourner, here satiate thy grief; behold thy murdered husband gasping on the ground, and to complete the pompous show of wretchedness, bring in each hand thy infant children to bewail their father's fate—take heed ye infant babes, lest, whilst your streaming eyes are fixed upon the ghastly corpse, your feet slide on the stones bespattered with your father's brains.³²

And who was responsible for this tragedy? Not France, not Spain, not the Savages; not even the demons from hell, but the arms of George our king!³³

The Tory rejoinder was a vigorous misrepresentation and travesty of the event in Rivington's paper.³⁴ A week earlier this journal had featured an article,³⁵ supposedly rejected by Boston editors, which divided the Sons of Liberty into poverty-stricken debauchees content with the basest means of securing a livelihood, and "ministers of the gospel, who, instead of preaching to their flocks meekness, sobriety, attention to their different employments, and a steady obedience to the laws of Britain, belch from the pulpit liberty, independence, and a steady perseverance in endeavoring to shake off their allegiance to the mother country." In fine independent ministers were declared to have been instigators and abettors of every persecution and conspiracy since the founding of the colony.

How readily any event lent itself to partial interpretation was revealed when a certain William French lost his life in an obscure riot.³⁶ His epitaph converted him into a hero and patriot:

Here William French his Body lies,
For Murder his Blood for Vengeance cries.
King George the third his Tory crew
the with a bawl his head Shot threw.
For Liberty and his Country's Good,
he Lost his Life his Dearest Blood.

Under the circumstances it is not surprising that the benefits

³² Quoted by Philip G. Davidson in "Whig Propagandists of the Revolution," in *American Historical Review*, XXXIX, 443-444. Also *Massachusetts Spy*, March 17, 1775.

³³ *Ibid.*, March 17, 1775.

³⁴ Frank Moore, *Diary of the American Revolution*, New York, 1860, I, 34-35.

³⁵ *Rivington's New York Gazeteer*, March 9, 1775; cf. Moore, I, 43-44.

³⁶ Moore, I, 51.

deriving from the protection of Great Britain were dismissed summarily with the remark "we owe her nothing."³⁷

The war of words continued unabated. Tories on the one hand taunted patriots³⁸ with raving about liberty like a parrot in ignorance of its meaning, while being led by the nose by a Cooper or Adams. In addition they were said to make idols of liberty trees, newspapers, and congresses, and to be so engrossed with politics as to neglect their occupations, so that they could frequent taverns where they "get drunk, damn the King, Ministers and Taxes," and vow blind obedience to misguided and criminal demagogues. Patriots met the challenge with an account of the "savage barbarity" of the British troops in Boston,³⁹ abetted by their officers. Because of the "banditti of freebooters" let loose for the "laudable purposes of robberies, rapes and murders" it was scarcely safe to walk the streets at noonday. Barely tolerable in the past their insolence had grown of late because of their failure to realize the promises of their officers of "fine houses, rich plunder, and a thousand other gratifications."

Responsibility for firing first at Concord Bridge was laid at the doors of the British⁴⁰ and their losses on the ill-starred foray were fixed at one hundred and ninety buried in the country and a great number carried off and burnt on Bunker Hill by their comrades. By contrast on another occasion a communique reported "Our killed none! Wounded three!"⁴¹ The deduction was inevitable that "Heaven apparently, and most evidently, fights for us, covers our heads in the day of battle, and shields our people from the assaults of the common enemies. What thanks can bespeak our gratitude!" In distant Virginia the people were assured that the British had fired on the colonials without provocation,⁴² a charge attested by the committees of Worcester, Brookline, Norwich, New London, Lyme, Saybrook, Killingsworth, East Guilford, Guilford, Bradford, and New Haven.

Ridicule, scorn, nonsense, with a dash of ribaldry, featured "Tom Gage's Proclamation," a parody circulated widely in the colonial press.⁴³ In mock sympathy it was said that Gage might anticipate the honor of "Lord Lexington of Bunker's Hill,"⁴⁴ but

³⁷ *Massachusetts Spy*, March 9, 1775.

³⁸ *Rivington's New York Gazetteer*, March 9, 1775.

³⁹ Moore, I, 54-55.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 63-69.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, I, 86.

⁴² *Virginia Gazette*, April 29, 1775.

⁴³ *Pennsylvania Journal*, June 28, 1775; *Newport Mercury*, July 17, 1775.

⁴⁴ Moore, I, 176.

this distinction was deemed slight recompense for having been cooped up in Boston to "fatten on salt provisions and peas," without the comfort of a single successful sally to his credit. And "Massachusettensis" addressing⁴⁵ the "perfidious, the truce-breaking Thomas Gage" said it was a problem how to address "such a monster," for the reason that language suited to the occasion must be "shocking and truly humiliating to human nature." British soldiers were characterized as dupes of power, fighting merely for pay, while colonials were represented as engaged in a just cause, the defense of their liberty.⁴⁶ "Ignotus" opined that under Tories good government and liberty were as likely as "righteousness in the dominion of Satan,"⁴⁷ while "Philo-Patria" argued that in view of the justice of the cause and defensive character of the conflict continuance of divine blessings was assured.⁴⁸

The extravagance of propaganda was revealed when Southwick's Newport paper carried a story⁴⁹ to the effect that even the birds favored the patriots. Martins, so it was stated, had nested for years under the roof of a certain house in Newport, but this spring, upon discovering that the owner was "incorrigible," they agreed not to come near a despot or "entertain him with their music," and so "with one voice" they quitted this house and flew away to the dwellings of the Sons of Liberty.

A crop of rumors favorable to the colonial cause was broadcast. Southwick "understood"⁵⁰ that his fellow printer, James Rivington, accompanied by Parson Cooper and other advocates of tyranny, had decamped and "taken passage for the land of slavery," and that the notorious "King Hooper" of Marblehead,⁵¹ hitherto a staunch Tory, was now converted to the support of his country and so enthusiastic in support of the cause that he made a substantial gift of provisions to the provincial congress. The province of Georgia was said to be "almost universally on the right side" and on the point of choosing delegates to Congress; Tories were now no more.⁵² Report had it that in a recent engagement near Boston the ministerial troops were totally defeated and General Gage taken prisoner.⁵³ Virginia learned that

⁴⁵ *Newport Mercury*, June 12, 1775.

⁴⁶ Moore, I, 106.

⁴⁷ *Boston Gazette*, August 28, 1775.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, September 11, 1775.

⁴⁹ *Newport Mercury*, June 19, 1775.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, May 8, 1775.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, May 15, 1775.

⁵² *Pennsylvania Packet*, July 17, 1775.

⁵³ *Virginia Gazette*, July 29, 1775.

Cambridge had heard that General Carleton of Quebec was holding conferences with Indians as much as "1500 miles back of the city," and making attractive offers with a view to inducing them to take up arms against the English colonies.⁵⁴ A second communique from Boston enlarged on the low morale of the British forces cooped up in Boston.⁵⁵ Mortality was high; all the wounded and prisoners had succumbed. While the British attributed the death rate to poisoned musket balls used by the provincial troops, bad provisions and scurvy were advanced a "more probable and more charitable way" of accounting for the situation. If some of the officers still "talk high and big" the more sensible among them were disheartened. Common soldiers too were dispirited. Officers and men alike curse General Gage and the Tories. The informant believed that sickness would sweep off the whole force while the patriots looked on, carefully debarring fresh provisions. Still a third despatch from Cambridge⁵⁶ exhibited a broadside, designed for circulation among the British, which contrasted the lot of the soldier on Prospect Hill with that of his rival on Bunker's Hill. While "rotten pork" was the food of the latter, the former enjoyed "fresh provisions and in plenty." Moreover, slavery, beggary, and want awaited the British while the Americans could look forward to "freedom, ease, affluence, and a good farm."

Atrocity story, religious and humanitarian appeal were all mingled in the reported bombardment of a certain community by the sloop of war *Falcon*, Captain Linzee commanding.⁵⁷ This officer is represented as directing fire at "the damn'd Presbyterian church," encouraging the gunners with the observation: "Well, my brave fellows, one shot more and the house of God will fall before us." But while he was "venting his hellish rage and setting himself as it were against Heaven" the Almighty intervened in behalf of the righteous colonials inasmuch as no one was wounded although bullets went through their houses "when filled with women and children." Moralizing on the incident, the observer lamented the lost glory of England, whose army, until recently the terror of many nations, is now engaged in cutting the throats of loyal subjects and in stealing sheep. "Fellows indeed!" he concluded.

In early September "Charactacus" addressed General Bur-

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, August 5, 1775.

⁵⁵ *Pennsylvania Packet*, August 14, 1775.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, August 14, 1775.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, August 28, 1775.

goyne⁵⁸ indignantly rejecting the charge that the colonies aimed at independence even though the sovereign had established popery and arbitrary power over the greatest part of the continent and torn up charters. At the same time he exulted over the fact that an "army of poltroons" armed with nothing but rusty firelocks and broomsticks had confined 10,000 British soldiers, officered by three of their most experienced generals, to a few acres of ground and subjected them to a siege. Moreover, France and Spain he declared ready to open their ports and render every service should the Americans request it. Under no illusion as to the attitude of these nations towards freedom and protestantism, he believed that slavery, if inescapable, was more acceptable when imposed by an old enemy than by an old friend.

The *Virginia Gazette* announced⁵⁹ that in reprisal for the loss of a tender a British captain had preyed on small craft and fishing boats. Like ancient Gaul Gage's army was said to be divided into three parts,⁶⁰ "the first company is under ground; the second is above ground; the third is in the hospital; and the general received orders from home for the second and third companies to follow the first." Ostensibly on British authority *Holt's Journal* gave out the information⁶¹ that transports were about to be chartered to convey "inferior rebels" to the East Indies for the company's service, capital sentence being reserved for ringleaders. "The best intelligence"⁶² vouched for the loyalty of the western Indians to the colonies; Carleton's intrigues were doomed to failure since only one tribe was disaffected, and it was powerless in face of general good will and sympathy. But the bugbear of a Canadian papist menace would not down so readily. Insistence was made⁶³ that fifteen thousand stands of arms had been shipped from the Tower to Quebec to arm the Roman Catholics of that province. Similarly "ragamuffin Tories" in Boston were said to be forming a regiment,⁶⁴ but with "that four-eyed Morgan, the fiddler," as adjutant this force was deemed negligible.

When Bristol was bombarded for failure to supply sheep and fat cattle to a small British squadron, the *New York Gazette*⁶⁵ seized upon the occasion to stress British insensibility to human

⁵⁸ September 2, 1775.

⁵⁹ Moore, I, 139.

⁶⁰ *Constitutional Gazette*, October 11, 1775.

⁶¹ *Holt's Journal*, October 19, 1775.

⁶² *Virginia Gazette*, September 16, 1775.

⁶³ *Pennsylvania Packet*, October 9, 1775.

⁶⁴ *Virginia Gazette*, October 14, 1775.

⁶⁵ *New York Gazette*, October 23, 1775, quoted by Moore, I, 150.

woes. There was strong appeal in the observation that "the shrieks of the women, the cries of the children, the groans of the sick, would have extorted a tear from even the eye of a Nero." Had the nadir of wickedness been attained? No, not yet, for in the April following someone was to discover that the king was "Nerone, Neronior."⁶⁶

Late in November Philadelphia was informed⁶⁷ that by order of General Howe the pulpit and pews had been removed from the venerable Old South meeting-house in Boston, and the edifice converted into a riding school. By mid-December Howe was furthermore charged⁶⁸ with razing the Old North, Boston's pioneer place of worship. This, in conjunction with the conversion of another meeting-house into a barracks, and a third into a riding school, was said to reveal the attitude of the regulars towards buildings devoted to religion. History afforded no such instance of desecration, for such action was contrary to the practice of nations; and since the very heathen held such places sacred their recent conduct bespoke the degeneracy of the sons of Britain.

On this assumption the *New England Chronicle* voiced an ardent entreaty⁶⁹ that regardless of private interests and personal loss men should answer the call of their country. Never was a cause more glorious, for not only wives and children, but humanity at large, were involved in the outcome of this last stand of liberty. Such savagery as the burning of Falmouth betrayed the spiritual bankruptcy of the British court, intent on applying fire and sword to "butcher and destroy, beggar and enslave" the whole of America. Right here was justification for breaking off all connection with Britain and forming a republic of American United Colonies. Another patriot, writing from the camp at Cambridge, reminded American soldiers⁷⁰ that they were engaged in the cause of virtue, liberty, and God. "For God's sake then," he urged, "let us play the man; for God's sake let us neglect no requisite precautions to frustrate the cruel attempts of our remorseless foes."

With the fires of controversy raging furiously fuel was added in "A Picture of a Certain Nation."⁷¹ Over this people ruled a prince encumbered with a numerous progeny. His treasury is empty and he is at variance with his brothers; his army is

⁶⁶ *Newport Mercury*, April 29, 1776.

⁶⁷ *Pennsylvania Journal*, November 29, 1775; cf. Moore, I, 168.

⁶⁸ *Constitutional Gazette*, December 16, 1775; cf. Moore, I, 182.

⁶⁹ *New England Chronicle*, November 23, 1775.

⁷⁰ *Virginia Gazette*, December 23, 1775.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, January 13, 1776.

ruined, his navy worm-eaten and unmanned; his nobles are debauched and their womenfolk devoid of virtue; his churches are deserted but his gaols are full; his poor are starving while his colonies in America have overcome those sent to tax them, and consequently they despise his power and threats. On the heels of this diatribe came an extended list of things to be remembered.⁷² Thirty-seven in number, and ranging from massacres and burnings to bombardment and the hiring of mercenaries and savages, this catalogue was designed to keep green the memory of British injustice and cruelty.

At this juncture "Salus Populi" proclaimed⁷³ that "every prospect of the future strongly invites us to embrace independency." Even more compelling was the circumstance that for twenty years past every occurrence seemed providentially designed to this end. The last war, for example, had trained many in the use of arms and taught them to look steadfastly into the face of an enemy. In confirmation of this view the *New York Packet*⁷⁴ disposed of objections to independence and marshalled arguments in favor of this conclusive step. Ridicule too was enlisted when the colonies were compared to "great lounging infants tied to mamma's apron at two and twenty, with long bibs and pap-spoons." To desert so glorious a cause and so enticing a prospect would be "heretical, damnable and abominable, even to a sensible Pope." Plainly independence was not merely suggested, it was enjoined.

The colonies were drifting rapidly, and the direction of the drift was unmistakable. The time was ripe for Paine's "Common Sense." It was hailed⁷⁵ as a "wonderful production," "calculated on the meridian of North America"; it was lauded for endorsing a new system of politics as different from the old as the Copernican system from the Ptolomaic. Born of the blood spilt at Lexington it was said to dispel prejudices against independence, and to pour out such a flood of "light and truth" as to effect instant change in the sentiments and views of America. Read with delight, and easily absorbed, it thrilled the mind with the idea of separation from England. Because of it the seeds of independence "grow surprisingly" so that despite ties of affection, connection will be dissolved, and the Gordian knot will be cut. That this was no exaggeration was shown when George Washington

⁷² *Boston Gazette*, April 3, 1776.

⁷³ *Pennsylvania Journal*, February 14, 1776.

⁷⁴ *New York Packet*, April 3, 1776.

⁷⁵ *Constitutional Gazette*, February 24, 1776; Moore, I, 208-209.

commented on "the sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning contained in the pamphlet 'Common Sense.'"⁷⁶

With feelings becoming daily more embittered a hero was made of Colonel Allen.⁷⁷ Although captured by the British as he fought for "life, liberty and property," he was treated as a villain, loaded with chains, transported to England, and confined in a loathsome jail. And all this was done in sharpest contrast to America's treatment of Colonel Prescott, who in spite of being active in the service of tyrants was lodged in a first-rate tavern in Philadelphia and supplied with the best that the markets could offer. "O George! who are the savages? After that can anyone blame the Americans if they retaliate?"

Under these stimuli the common man was spurred to action. Upon enlisting one of them, characterized as an "honest, sensible, spirited farmer," gave expression to his convictions.⁷⁸ America was guiltless. She had not begun the quarrel; she sought no new privileges; she did not plot with Bourbons or Stuarts; she did not take up arms with sinister design. On the contrary she merely asserted her rights and asked for justice; she suffered the indignity of the introduction of an armed force to dragoon her into submission; she lifted the sword only in self-defense after hostilities had been begun. Consequently history would lay all guilt at the doorsteps of the king, ministers, and parliament; moreover future generations, and the great Judge of mankind, will condemn them. For these reasons the soldier conceived himself as taking up arms "in defense of innocence, justice, truth, honesty, honor, liberty, property and life; and in opposition to guilt, injustice, falsehood, dishonesty, ignominy, slavery, poverty and death."

Dangerous feelings found expression when "Queries addressed to sound Heads and honest Hearts"⁷⁹ raised the issue of whether a king who resorted to burnings and the use of foreign troops and savages is a legal sovereign or a tyrant, and whether he does not forfeit the allegiance of his subjects by such conduct. It was evident that such a prince had outdone Nero! In Virginia arguments in favor of independence multiplied in the press.⁸⁰ And a lengthy communication from North Carolina to the edi-

⁷⁶ William B. Read, *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Read*, Philadelphia, 1847, I, 48.

⁷⁷ *New England Gazette*, April 4, 1776; Moore, I, 226.

⁷⁸ *Boston Gazette*, March 25, 1776.

⁷⁹ *Newport Mercury*, April 29, 1776.

⁸⁰ *Virginia Gazette*, May 25, 1776.

tors of the *Virginia Gazette*⁸¹ insisted on unity, the spirit of sacrifice, and quick response to the call to arms. Actions should speak to the enemy; the conduct of all should be such that posterity will acclaim the "glorious deliverers of their country from British tyranny and oppression." Just a week before independence was officially determined upon, "Armatus" charged Britain with determination to use her whole strength—fleets, armies, fraud—to effect the destruction of America.⁸² A blood-thirsty king, he declared, is ready to invite German mercenaries, Canadians, savages, Negroes, and Tories to share in the carnage. And this is no idle dream but stark reality. Death awaits those who fall into British hands, for her king, like another, would sacrifice Naboth to possess the vineyard he coveted.⁸³

When a goodly number of people entertained such sentiments and dared to express them in the press a crisis was at hand. Treason or independence loomed. Official separation from the parent state could not be delayed. And the Declaration of Independence which followed was keyed to the times; unquestionably it takes first place among the propaganda documents issued by the Continental Congress.

In this study of propaganda activity during the two years previous to the official severance of political ties many examples have been given, and others could readily be added, to show that colonial patriots were not ignorant of the value of propaganda nor unskilled in its use. In converting others to their point of view and inducing them to pursue a chosen course of action they were persistent and resourceful. In the main their efforts have a directness and forcefulness that must have been effective even if they lacked the subtlety and finesse of the modern agitator. If the Whig editors "kindled the Spirit" equal to defeating the designs of Britain, as one of their number boasted,⁸⁴ they did so in collaboration with a host of unnamed and unknown assistants whose early apprenticeship qualified them for distinguished service

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, May 4, 1776.

⁸² *Boston Gazette*, June 24, 1776.

⁸³ In time the voice of Franklin in distant Passy would join the chorus charging Britain with atrocities. In a letter to David Hartley he enlarged upon her crimes, her prosecution of the war, her treatment of prisoners, her bribing of slaves to murder and massacre, and her debauching of honest seamen. Such was her depravity, proven beyond doubt, that we can never again entrust her the management of our affairs and interests. Albert H. Smyth, *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, New York, 1905-1907, VII, 69, No. 855.

⁸⁴ John Holt's *New York Journal* cited by Sidney I. Pomerantz in "The Patriot Newspaper and the American Revolution," Richard B. Morris, ed., *The Era of the American Revolution*, New York, 1937, 306.

during the years of physical conflict. Actual warfare would open up new outlets for propaganda, such as mistreatment of prisoners and civilians, and misuse of flags, but the success of the agitation for independence would be an incentive to winning new laurels.

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New Light on the History of the Reconquest of New Mexico*

INTRODUCTION

The reconquest and refounding of New Mexico by the Spaniards in the last decade of the seventeenth century, annually celebrated at Santa Fe since the year 1712 to this day, is one of the most important chapters in the history of the Spanish Southwest. New Mexico had been conquered and settled by Spain in 1598, and the colony flourished for the best part of a century. During that time the region witnessed a veritable Golden Age of Franciscan missionary labors, and Spanish institutions, to all appearances, had been permanently established there. But in the great Pueblo Indian uprising of 1680 all was lost. The New Mexican colonists were compelled to abandon the region, and thereby at a single stroke the northern frontier of New Spain was thrust back a distance of over three hundred miles toward Old Mexico. For twelve years the Indians held New Mexico as their own. But finally, in the last decade of the seventeenth century, from El Paso as a base, the region was reconquered by Spanish arms and New Mexican society was reconstituted. The first permanent European settlements in the region date from the reconquest, and it may be said that the real beginnings of Spanish society in what is now the state of New Mexico date from that time.

The groundwork for a serious study of the reconquest of New Mexico was laid fifty years ago by H. H. Bancroft in his *History of Arizona and New Mexico*. His basic original source was the Santa Fe Archive, which, to use his own words, "though valuable . . . is very imperfect, fragmentary, and utterly inadequate to the forming of a complete record of the country's annals in any phase."¹ His source of information was indeed inadequate, yet all later published accounts relied heavily on Bancroft. This was true in the case of Read, Coan, Twitchell, and others. Twitchell expanded on Bancroft in his treatment of the reconquest story, but his sources were essentially the same: the badly damaged and in-

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Omaha, May 3, 1940.

¹ A complete description of Bancroft's sources may be found in his *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, San Francisco, 1889, 19-20, 197.

complete Santa Fe Archive.² As a result of these early accounts a few general facts of the story are well known. But since none of these authors had access to the extensive and all-important documentary materials from the archives of Spain and Mexico which are now available to students of New Mexico history, their pioneer efforts, which represent the piecing together of scattered fragments, lack a solid basis for serious evaluation of the facts involved. We must keep in mind, however, that these men did the best they could with the materials which they had at hand, and they gave us many important clues.

In fact, only during the last ten years have we been able to improve on Bancroft in this particular phase of New Mexico history. Much of the story is just now being written for the first time. And so, to cite a glaring example, it is not surprising to learn that the biographical sketch of the leader of the reconquest of New Mexico which was published in the *Dictionary of American Biography* in 1930, when there was very little evidence at hand (and which unfortunately has not been revised), would have been a disgrace to American historical scholarship if it had been written in the same form two years later, by which time adequate documents were available and waiting to be used. Most of the mass of new material uncovered in recent years, the result of constant rummaging in foreign archives, is now available in this country in photostatic form in the Library of Congress and the Coronado Library of the University of New Mexico. The use of these documents has made possible the present essay.³

² The documents preserved in the Santa Fe Archive proper, and those in the General Land Office in Santa Fe, are listed and fully described in his *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2v., Cedar Rapids, 1914. Twitchell edited and published translations of a few of the documents preserved in the Santa Fe Archives in his *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 5v., Cedar Rapids, 1911-1914, *Old Santa Fe, The Story of New Mexico's Ancient Capital*, Santa Fe, 1925, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, and in the magazine *Old Santa Fe* under the following titles: "The Reconquest of New Mexico, 1691-1692. Extracts from the Journal of General Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de Leon," I (1914), 288-307, 420-435; "The Justification of Don Diego de Vargas," I (1914), 57-65; "The Last Campaign of General Vargas, 1704," I (1914), 66-72; and "The Pueblo Revolt of 1696," III (1916), 333-373. Unfortunately, these translations are full of minor inaccuracies. F. W. Hodge translated and edited "French Intrusion toward New Mexico in 1695," *New Mexico Historical Review*, IV (1929), 72-76.

A section of Vargas' original journal, formerly a part of the Santa Fe Archives, along with translations of other reconquest documents from the same source (made by Judge Samuel Ellison), were recently acquired by the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, from the estate of William G. Ritch, governor *ad interim* of New Mexico in 1875. These documents now constitute a part of the *Ritch Collection*, Huntington Library.

³ Herbert E. Bolton, who among twentieth-century professional historians pioneered in the exploration of the Mexican archives, uncovered

DON DIEGO DE VARGAS, THE RECONQUEROR

The bold Castilian nobleman Don Diego de Vargas was the hero of the reconquest of New Mexico. Let us consider for a moment the remarkable background of this "Hernán Cortés of these times," to quote the words of one of his contemporaries. Without exaggeration it may be said that no Spaniard ever set foot on the soil of our Spanish borderlands who could claim a lineage more illustrious than that of the reconqueror of New Mexico. The lineages of Coronado and Oñate, the two other members of New Mexico's triumvirate of conquerors, hardly bear comparison.⁴

important reconquest materials there which are catalogued in his *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico*, Washington, D. C., 1913. At the Archivo General y Público de la Nación, in Mexico City, Bolton obtained copies of *Provincias Internas*, tomo 35, and *Historia*, tomos 37, 38, and 39, typed in triplicate. One set of these transcripts forms a part of the *Bolton Collection*, in the Bancroft Library, University of California, the second set was deposited in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., and the third set was turned over to Professor Charles W. Hackett of the University of Texas.

As a result of investigations in the Spanish archives, Otto Maas, O. F. M., published *Misiones de Nuevo Méjico. Documentos del Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla) publicadas por primera vez y anotadas*, Madrid, 1929, in which some Vargas documents appear, and in which was published the table of contents of the Villagutierre manuscript mentioned below. Irving A. Leonard edited and translated *The Mercurio Volante of Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora*, Quivira Society, III, Los Angeles, 1932. In his introduction and notes Leonard made good use of the new material that was being uncovered in Spain and Mexico. About ten years ago photographs of the following pertinent documents in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, and the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, respectively, were obtained by the Library of Congress: *Audiencia de Guadalajara*, legajos 138-142, and Juan de Villagutierre y Sotomayor, *Historia de la conquista, pérdida y restauración de el reyno y provincias de la Nueva Mexico en la America septentrional*, c. 1704, MS., over 890 folio pages in length. Lists of pertinent material in the *Sección de Contaduría*, Archivo General de Indias, may also be found in the Library of Congress. During the last few years the Coronado Library, University of New Mexico, has obtained photostatic copies of the all-important *Historia* series (Archivo General y Público de la Nación, Mexico City), and *Audiencia de Guadalajara* series (Archivo General de Indias), as well as films and photographs of other related documents from Spain and Mexico.

⁴ The family genealogy was elaborately worked out and published by the reconqueror's grandson, Don Diego José López de Zárate Vargas Pimentel Zapata y Luján Ponce de León Cepeda Alvarez Contreras y Salinas, Marqués de Villanueva de la Sagra, y de la Nava de Barcinas, in a work in two parts entitled *Breve descripción genealogica de la ilustre quanto antiquissima casa de los Vargas de Madrid . . .*, Madrid, 1740. The following material on the lineage of Diego de Vargas, for the most part from the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, was made available to the author through the courtesy of the Spanish historian José Pérez Balsera, a co-relative of Vargas. Some of this material, including facsimiles of important documents, was published by Balsera in his *Laudemus viros gloriosos et parentes nostros in generatione sua*, Madrid, 1931. See J. Manuel Espinosa, "Notes on the Lineage of Don Diego de Vargas, Reconqueror of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, X (1935), 112-120.

The Vargas family of Madrid, the one out of which the reconqueror was born, sent forth some of the most distinguished figures in the annals of Spain. Don Diego descended in direct male line from the eldest of the three Vargas brothers who served under King Alfonso VI in the conquest of Madrid and Toledo in the years 1080 and 1083. Other Vargases equalled the valor of the three brothers by memorable deeds in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa and at Jerez. Of this same family was the knight Juan de Vargas, wealthy landowner of Madrid at the turn of the eleventh century, the master of San Isidro Labrador, patron saint of Madrid. Then there was Garci Pérez de Vargas, that famous captain who played such an important part in the capture of Seville in 1248 that his name was engraved in marble on an inscription which may still be seen on one of the gateways to that city. It reads: "Hercules built me—Julius Caesar surrounded me with great walls and towers—and the saint king [Saint Ferdinand] conquered me—with Garci Pérez de Vargas."

Don Diego's paternal grandfather was Don Lorenzo de Vargas Zapata, knight of the Order of Santiago, who fought in Italy as an officer in the Spanish army for fifty years. Don Lorenzo's father, captain of infantry for a long time under Philip II and Philip III, was also a knight of the Order of Santiago, and his grandfather served as procurator of the famous military order.

Among the contemporary relatives of Don Lorenzo's paternal grandfather, and those of the generation just preceding, there was a host of renowned Vargases. One Don Francisco de Vargas was held in such confidence as a councilor of the Catholic kings and Charles V, that the statement "Averigüelo Vargas," or "Ask Vargas," came to be a popular saying, and even the title of a play by the dramatist Tirso de Molina.⁵ In 1520 he served as governor of the kingdom during one of the emperor's sojourns in Germany. He owned much property in Madrid, including the vast grounds of the Casa de Campo across the Manzanares River from the royal palace. These grounds were later purchased by the king as a country estate, and when Philip II was asked one time at court why he did not remove the Vargas coat of arms

Through Balsera the author also learned of the existence and obtained a copy of a contemporary full-length portrait of Diego de Vargas, the only one known to exist. See the *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Santa Fe, New Mexico, September 1, 1934. This was before the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939; since that time the original portrait has been lost.

⁵ For a good discussion of the origin of the term "Averigüelo Vargas," see the *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada, Europeo-Americana*, Espasa-Calpe, LXVII, 2-3, and Julio Cejador y Frauca, ed., *Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, Libro de Buen Amor*, 2v., Madrid, 1913, I, 91-92, note 239.

from the house there, he answered: "Leave them, for those of such loyal vassals look well on the royal house." Don Gutierre de Vargas, Bishop of Plasencia, was Don Francisco's son. Then there was the licentiate Francisco de Vargas, Spanish ambassador to Rome and Venice respectively. He was one of the two principal lay doctors at the Council of Trent.

The reconqueror's paternal grandmother, Doña Antonia de Cepeda Venegas Ponce de León, wife of Don Lorenzo de Vargas Zapata Luján, was of ancestry as distinguished as that of her husband. She was the daughter of Captain Don Alonzo Sánchez de Cepeda, of Granada, and Doña Juana Venegas Ponce de León, of Bogotá. Don Alonzo, of the Orders of Calatrava and Santiago, was at that time governor and captain general of New Granada. Through her father, Doña Antonia was a second cousin of Santa Teresa de Jesús, the celebrated religious and literary figure of Spain's Golden Age. On her mother's side Doña Antonia's ancestors came to America with the first conquerors. Her great-grandfather, Don Pedro Ponce de León, was governor of Venezuela from 1565 to 1569. His daughter Juana married Marshal Hernán de Venegas, a Cordovan who had come to the New World with the men of Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada. Venegas was one of the leaders in the conquest of the Chibchas, and was a prominent leader in New Granada. He is buried in the cathedral at Bogotá. His daughter Doña Juana was Doña Antonia's mother.

The reconqueror was son and heir of Captain Alonso de Vargas Zapata y Luján, knight of the Order of Santiago, and Doña María Margarita de Contreras y Arraiz, both of whom possessed many landed estates and ample fortunes. In his youth Don Alonso served for eight years as a noble page to the queen, and later became a soldier, in the footsteps of many of his ancestors. After serving for some time in Spain as captain of cavalry in the royal service, Don Alonso came to America, where he served his government and where he died. Besides his military and diplomatic services he was a man of some intellectual attainments, and on his death he left written some twenty volumes of general information of the period.

Young Vargas could add little to the luster of the family name; and his vast estate, the accumulation of centuries, included extensive revenues, and properties which are still landmarks in Madrid, throughout Castile, and in Granada. This was the house of Vargas.

The reconqueror was baptized at Madrid on November 8,

1643, his full baptismal name being Diego José de Vargas Zapata y Luján Ponce de León y Contreras. On May 5, 1664, he married the wealthy Doña Beatriz Pimentel de Prado, of Torrelaguna. In the following year was born their only child, a daughter, María Isabel. But life in Charles the Second's rapidly declining Spanish kingdom was apparently too uneventful for Vargas. He was drawn irresistably by the exotic attraction, the adventure, and the opportunities which Spain's vast empire in America offered; where many of his ancestors had won glory and renown. In the summer of 1672, Vargas, alone, was making preparations to sail for America. He had been appointed as a special courier of the king to carry dispatches to the viceroy of New Spain.⁶

Although we have little evidence regarding his public life in America prior to 1679, a phase of Don Diego's private life is revealed by the fact that sometime between the years 1673 and 1679 he contracted an illicit marriage in New Spain; on his death-bed in 1704 he declared as his children ". . . although not by legitimate wife, Don Juan Manuel de Vargas of the age of twenty-four years, and Don Alonzo de Vargas of the age of twenty-three years, and their sister Doña María Theresa who is with her mother in the city of Mexico, of the age of nineteen years . . ."⁷

A few scattered facts have been found concerning Vargas' life during the next decade. In January 1679 he was serving as *alcalde mayor* of the pueblo of Teutila, and he had apparently been in the royal service for some time, because when he was transferred to Talpujagua in that year he was described by the viceroy as "a person of complete integrity, experience and intelligence."⁸ In May 1679 Vargas took over the duties of *justicia mayor* of the mining camp of Talpujagua, in the rich quicksilver section of Michoacán.⁹ Always his services were described with high praise. In July 1684 he was continued in the office by the viceroy, Conde de Paredes, with the new title *alcalde mayor*,

⁶ See Lansing B. Bloom, "Notes and Comments," *New Mexico Historical Review*, X (1935), 170.

⁷ Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, I, 304.

⁸ The Count of Paredes, viceroy of New Spain, to the king, Mexico City, April 3, 1685. Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereinafter cited as A. G. I.), *Audiencia de Guadalajara*, legajo 141. See also, Vargas to the Count of Montezuma, Viceroy of New Spain, Santa Fe, April 29, 1697, *ibid.*

According to an anonymous eighteenth-century document, Vargas took over the post at Teutila in the year 1673. See Lansing B. Bloom, "The Vargas Encomienda," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XIV (1939), 375, note 22.

⁹ The viceroy to the king, Mexico City, April 3, 1685, and Vargas to the viceroy, Santa Fe, April 29, 1697, A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, legajo 141.

"because I recognized in him a subject fitted for the post and very necessary for the development of these mines . . . through whose activity this mining camp has taken on new vigor, although when he took over it was in its last stages of deterioration."¹⁰ In a letter to the king dated April 3, 1685, the viceroy wrote, "Keeping in mind the notorious quality and blood of Don Diego de Vargas, his many and visible merits, and since it has been recommended by your Majesty that he be given duties in your Royal Service, I have continued him, and shall continue him in the position at Talpujagua until your Majesty deigns to employ him in other higher posts in keeping with his illustrious blood, for I find him very capable. . . ."¹¹ Vargas also served as administrator of the royal quicksilver supply (*juez repartidor*), at the mining camp of Talpujagua.¹²

On June 18, 1688, the king appointed him governor and captain general of New Mexico for five years. This post presented a real opportunity, for these were critical years on the New Mexico frontier. The king and the viceroy had been urging the reconquest of the lost province ever since its abandonment. Attempts had been made by Vargas' predecessors, but all had failed.

THE EVE OF THE RECONQUEST

Vargas took possession of the government at El Paso on February 22, 1691. Imbued with enthusiasm and visions of glory and renown to be won in the north, he offered to reconquer the lost province immediately and at his own expense. However, he soon discovered that the soldiers of the presidio were without sufficient arms and horses; and the inhabitants of the El Paso settlements were fighting against starvation and facing the constant threat of hostile Indian raids.

Other factors helped shatter Vargas' plans. The government of New Spain was at this time concerned with the more pressing question of putting down Indian uprisings in New Vizcaya, Sonora, and Sinaloa. Vargas made every effort to keep from being drawn into these wars. For a moment there seemed to be some hope that this would be the case, for a courier arrived unexpectedly at El Paso with orders from the viceroy to investigate

¹⁰ Vargas to the Count of Montezuma, Viceroy of New Spain, Santa Fe, November 28, 1696, A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, legajo 141.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Vargas was recommended to the Viceroy of New Spain by King Charles II in a royal cédula of February 16, 1683, and thenceforward was given special consideration by all the viceroys.

¹² Vargas to the viceroy, Santa Fe, April 29, 1697, *op. cit.*

the reported quicksilver mine in the Sierra Azul, west of the Hopi pueblos. The story was not new. It was based on old frontier tales which dated from the days of the search for Cibola and Quivira; a vain hope which continued to haunt the royal authorities.¹³ Vargas attempted to arouse sufficient interest in the revived story to convince the viceroy of the desirability of an immediate expedition into New Mexico. Information on the subject was obtained from former residents of the northern province and sent immediately to the authorities in Mexico City. But in the meantime instructions arrived ordering him to go directly to the aid of Sonora and Sinaloa.

In the campaign against the hostile Indians of the outlying frontiers of Sonora and Sinaloa, offensive warfare was carried out against the Pimas, Jocomes, Mansos, Janos, and the Apaches of Chilmo and the Sierra de Gila. Vargas personally led the united forces enlisted from the garrisons of El Paso, Sonora, and Sinaloa. On this remarkable expedition he claimed to have discovered over one hundred and fifty leagues of *terra incognita*. The trails, watering places, and eating places of the remote frontier tribes of the Sobaipujares were "discovered" and reconnoitered. The round trip distance from El Paso to these distant regions was recorded as being over four hundred and eighty leagues.¹⁴

This campaign over, the favorable time for the reconquest was finally at hand. By the end of November 1691 the Indian disturbances in Sonora and Sinaloa had quieted down, and the government of New Spain now focused its attention upon the reconquest of New Mexico. Meanwhile, Vargas continually emphasized the possibilities of Sierra Azul, in an effort to keep the whole question of the reconquest alive in Mexico City, at a time when the viceroy was faced with many other important problems of defense, not to mention economic instability and social unrest. Sallies against the Apaches and the suppression of a Manso uprising did not interfere with Vargas' preparations. But since he found difficulty in recruiting volunteers, he wrote to the viceroy that fifty additional soldiers were essential. With this exception

¹³ See J. Manuel Espinosa, "The Legend of Sierra Azul, with special emphasis upon the part it played in the reconquest of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, IX (1934), 113-158.

¹⁴ Vargas to the viceroy, Santa Fe, November 28, 1696, *op. cit.* During his first days at El Paso, Vargas received letters from the Jesuit missionaries at Chinapa asking for help to pacify the hostile tribes in Sonora and Sinaloa that were harassing the missions. These were followed by similar requests from Juan Fernández de la Fuente, captain of the presidio at Janos. This expedition was the outcome. Maas, *op. cit.*, 123-133.

Vargas insisted that the undertaking should be at his own expense. On May 28, 1692, all his demands were granted by the Royal Junta in Mexico City.¹⁵

Vargas planned two entries into the north: first a preliminary visit in order to learn the state of affairs there, to reduce and conquer the apostate rebels by force of arms if necessary, and to verify the reports of quicksilver mines in the Sierra Azul. This was to be followed by a carefully organized colonizing expedition whereby, with additional soldiers, settlers, and missionaries, the former Spanish settlements and missions in New Mexico would be completely reestablished.

The preliminary military expedition into New Mexico in 1692 was a complete success, although the small force came very near to being annihilated at Santa Fe, at Jémez, and at the Hopi pueblos. There the Spaniards were outnumbered ten to one by enemy warriors who were at first eager to engage in battle. But in each case Vargas' bold diplomacy and the exhortations of the missionaries saved the day. In the four months' campaign twenty-three pueblos of ten Indian tribes were "restored" to Spain's empire in America, without wasting a single *maravedí*. Not a drop of enemy blood was shed, except in the conflicts with the Apaches. Seventy-four persons in captivity were set free, among them many Spaniards; and 2,214 Indians, mostly children, were baptized by the missionaries. Vargas estimated that during the course of his expedition he had traveled, all told, over six hundred leagues. Everywhere, despite the charred ruins of homes and churches, the Spanish language although temporarily dormant was still alive among the Pueblo Indians. During the reconquest there were numerous cases of negotiations carried on with native leaders in the Spanish language through both the spoken and written word. Further evidence of the culture that radiated from each former mission center may be gleaned from the list of the books recovered at Zuñi. Among the seventeen books, both religious and profane, which had been the property of the missionary stationed there at the time of the uprising, were the works of Santa Teresa de Jesús and Quevedo.¹⁶

But New Mexican submission was as yet a formality, as no Spaniards had remained in the north. Vargas now made prepara-

¹⁵ J. Manuel Espinosa, trans. and ed., "Report Authorizing Governor Vargas to Reconquer New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XIV (1939), 76-81.

¹⁶ Vargas' journal, Zuñi, November 11, 1692. The Santa Fe Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, and A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, legajo 139.

tions for the expedition which would seal permanently the victory for Spain.

THE RECONQUEST OF NEW MEXICO

When the glad tidings of a successful campaign and the impending restoration of all New Mexico were received in Mexico City, the occasion was one for great rejoicing. Bells were rung in the capital, and the viceroy officially thanked the governor of New Mexico for his services and promised everything necessary for the permanent preservation of that which had been regained. In order to record the recent triumph of Spanish arms, and incidentally to arouse interest in the impending colonizing expedition, the viceroy ordered the publication and distribution of an official pamphlet telling of the remarkable feat. Thus in the summer of 1693 the *Mercurio Volante*, by Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, appeared in Mexico City. The pamphlet had a wide circulation both in Mexico and Spain.¹⁷

By viceregal decree Vargas now was granted the right to solicit colonists and enlist one hundred soldiers for the establishment of a presidio at Santa Fe, wherever and in whatever manner might be most convenient. Forty thousand pesos were set aside at the treasuries of Durango, Zacatecas, and Sombrerete to help finance the enterprise, and he was empowered to draw additional sums if he should deem it necessary. Instructions were sent to the governor of New Vizcaya to aid Vargas in every way possible. The viceroy promised to send additional missionaries and a number of volunteer families from Mexico City.¹⁸ Since there was a total of only one hundred and twelve households in the five settlements of the El Paso district, all of them in a miserable economic state, Vargas traveled great distances throughout New Vizcaya and New Galicia in search of additional recruits.¹⁹

Finally the expedition was ready. It consisted of one hundred soldiers, over eight hundred settlers, eighteen Franciscan friars, and a number of Indian allies. The lusty band was accompanied by nine hundred head of livestock, over two thousand horses, and

¹⁷ See Leonard, trans. and ed., *The Mercurio Volante*, *op. cit.*, introduction.

¹⁸ Viceregal decree, Mexico City, February 25, 1693, Archivo General y Público de la Nación (hereinafter cited as A. G. N.), Mexico City, *Historia*, tomo 38.

¹⁹ Census of the El Paso District, taken December 22 to January 3, 1693, A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, legajo 139.

one thousand mules. The main body of the expedition set out for Santa Fe on October 4, 1693, amid great pomp and ceremony. Marching to the strains of martial music, two squads of ten soldiers each led the way. All those who were able to traveled on horseback; the others crowded into twelve mule- and horse-drawn wagons, which had been outfitted at Parral. Six wagons and eighty mules were employed in the transportation of the supplies, and three cannon were carried in three small carts. On October 13, Vargas and the *cabildo*, escorted by two squads of "leather-jackets," took final leave of El Paso.

Upon entering the Pueblo country the Spaniards learned that the natives, despite their promises of 1692, were again in rebellion and were ready to resist them. As the expedition advanced toward Santa Fe the faithful Indian governor of Pecos hastened to warn Vargas that with the exception of Pecos, Santa Ana, Sia, and San Felipe, all the tribes were prepared for battle. Undaunted, Vargas climbed the steep mountain trail of La Bajada and descended into the valley of Santa Fe. For two weeks the Spaniards camped outside the gates of the hostile city of Santa Fe, virtually without shelter, while twenty-two of their number died of exposure and were buried under the winter snow. When the demand to abandon the city was answered by the natives with blasphemy and war cries, Vargas stormed and won the heavily fortified stronghold with the loss of only one soldier. After the battle, with characteristic sternness, Vargas had seventy of the enemy leaders executed, an act which aroused misgivings among the remaining pueblos.²⁰

As the year 1694 opened, the eleven hundred Spanish colonists were safely established within the walls of Santa Fe. But for the time being it was like being stranded on a barren island, for all the surrounding tribes were hostile. Among twenty-odd pueblos, only four were the allies of the Spaniards, faithful to their promises of 1692. The natives of nearly all the other pueblos had barricaded themselves on the mesas and on the rims of the canyons. Those of Santo Domingo and Jémez were on the mesas near their respective pueblos, the other Keres on the mesa of La Cieneguilla de Cochití, most of the Tanos and Teguas (the most formidable group) on the mesa of San Ildefonso, some in nearby canyons, and the Picuríes and Taos in their original pueblos.

²⁰ See J. Manuel Espinosa, "The Recapture of Santa Fe, New Mexico, by the Spaniards—December 29-30, 1693," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XIX (1939), 443-463.

Obviously Vargas' great task was to break down a feeling of suspicion and distrust on the part of the natives, who feared punishment for the crimes of 1680. Furthermore, most of the older Indian leaders were determined to retain their ancient way of life, which the Spaniards aimed to stamp out. The year was characterized by constant warfare. This prevented the people from planting their fields, so they still depended on what they were able to seize from the enemy, and what little was sent up from Mexico. The grain shortage was critical. Vargas, with the aid of the missionaries, spent months pleading with the natives to submit peacefully, and only after all such efforts failed did he embark upon a bloody and protracted military offensive.

On April 17, the mesa of La Cieneguilla de Cochití was taken by assault with the aid of loyal Indian allies. Considerable grain and livestock were captured. Toward the end of June, Father Francisco Farfán arrived at Santa Fe with a colony of sixty-six families from Mexico.²¹ This meant more reinforcements, but it also meant additional mouths to feed. Faced with the necessity of obtaining provisions, Vargas decided to embark immediately upon a campaign to crush the rebellious natives of Jémez and Santo Domingo. Since the Rio Grande was running dangerously high the campaign was temporarily postponed. In view of this delay and the pressing need of feeding the colony, Vargas decided upon a trip to the abandoned Tano and Tegua pueblos, and thence to Picuríes, to obtain maize. This mission having proved fruitless, he proceeded to Taos. The natives, upon learning of the approach of the Spaniards, fled into the nearby mountains, and large stores of grain which were left at the pueblo were captured. On the return trip to Santa Fe, for safety Vargas took a round-about route which carried the expedition into what is now southern Colorado, and the grain reached its destination without mishap.²²

The delayed campaign against the Jémez and their Santo Domingo confederates was now carried out. On July 24 the Rock of Jémez was carried by assault after a short and bloody battle. Great quantities of much-needed grain were captured. With additional Indian allies, Vargas now marched to the mesa of San Ildefonso. The future of the Spanish colony at Santa Fe hinged

²¹ This colony consisted of 230 persons. Vargas' journal, Santa Fe, June 23, 1694, A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 39, and A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, legajo 140.

²² See J. Manuel Espinosa, "Governor Vargas in Colorado," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XI (1936), 179-187, and *idem*, "Diary of Vargas' Expedition into Colorado, 1694," *The Colorado Magazine*, XVI (1939), 1-11.

upon the submission of this formidable stronghold. On September 8 the harried natives atop the mesa laid down their arms and sued for peace. All New Mexico, except Picurries and Taos in the north, and Acoma, Zuñi, and the Hopi pueblos in the west, was now definitely and permanently reconquered for Spain.

The victorious campaigns of 1694 were followed by the spread of settlement and of Spanish institutions. Missions were re-founded, political jurisdictions were reestablished, the Indian pueblos were rebuilt and reoccupied, and local governments were again set up in the Indian pueblos on the Spanish model. In Santa Fe natives from the surrounding pueblos were again trading their produce with the settlers and mingling as the best of friends. "With sails full we forge ahead," Vargas wrote to the viceroy. Eleven Indian missions had been reestablished in the region surrounding Santa Fe, and this number was soon to be increased to thirteen. Ranches and farm sites were surveyed and occupied in the Santa Cruz Valley and along the Rio Grande to the southwest of Santa Fe. On April 22, 1695, the sixty-six families recently brought up from Mexico were settled at the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. On May 9, forty-four additional families arrived from Mexico.²³ They brought with them horses, mules, and additional livestock. Soon much-needed farm implements arrived from Mexico. New Mexico was still a financial burden upon the government at Mexico City, but the future looked bright. Before the end of the year settlements also were established at Los Cerrillos and Bernalillo.

It is important to note that although the *encomienda* system existed in New Mexico prior to 1680 (and although we know that at least one of those who escaped to El Paso had been an *encomendero*), the Spaniards or their heirs who lost *encomiendas* in 1680 never regained the traditional *encomienda* right to collect an annual tribute from an allotted number of the subjugated Pueblo Indians. There was to be only one exception after 1680, the *encomienda* granted to Vargas as one result of his successful reconquest of New Mexico. But although technically an *encomienda*, the grant was never made effective, and finally, in 1726, Vargas' heirs had it changed into a royal pension.²⁴

Now that the missionaries were distributed and the military

²³ Vargas' journal, Santa Fe, May 9, 1695, A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 39, and A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, legajo 140. Bancroft was completely unaware of this group of colonists. Twitchell gives it no mention in his *Leading Facts*, *op. cit.*, but makes vague reference to it in his later article, "The Pueblo Revolt of 1696," *op. cit.*, 337-338.

²⁴ See Bloom, "The Vargas Encomienda," *op. cit.*, 383, 413.

force was somewhat scattered, some of the native chieftains, especially among the Teguas, began to plot another revolt and massacre like those of 1680. As the winter of 1695-1696 set in there were ominous signs of an impending revolt. Many of the natives sullenly withdrew to the mountains. The missionaries warned Vargas, but to no avail. On June 4, 1696, a number of the pueblos rose, and in a sudden and horrible manner killed five missionaries and twenty-one Spanish settlers and soldiers, burned and desecrated mission churches, and fled to the mountains.

When news of the rebellion reached the authorities in Mexico City, they quickly pointed out the significance of the New Mexico outpost as the bulwark of defense against Indian attack for the whole northern frontier, and ordered that New Mexico must be preserved. Besides, the fear of French intrusion from the east was recently renewed by Apache reports to the effect that some white men had reached "the bank of the water" and made war on the people of Quivira.

Vargas met the rebellion with swift decision. A series of bold campaigns, in which Vargas was aided by the severe winter, forced the frozen and half-starved rebels to sue for peace. By the end of the year 1696 it may be said that the permanent submission of the Pueblo Indians of the upper Rio Grande to Spanish rule was complete. The dispersed Indians gradually returned to their pueblos, and the missions were soon reestablished. The New Mexico communities still had many a "starving time" to overcome, but the century and a half of Spanish rule which followed was relatively an era of peaceful growth.

Meanwhile, in 1696, Vargas' five year appointment as governor expired. Although he had early appealed for reappointment, Don Pedro Rodríguez Cubero had already bought the governorship for a term of five years, and took possession of the office at Santa Fe in July 1697. For reasons best known to those concerned, Cubero was able to arouse the colonists almost unanimously against Vargas, and after his thirty days' *residencia* had expired, he was thrown into prison and held there for nearly three years. It was a strange turn of affairs.

At the Spanish court across the Atlantic, completely ignorant of these developments, the king was giving approval to the reappointment of Vargas to the governorship in succession to Cubero, giving him the honorary title of "Pacifcator," and granting him the title of Marqués de la Nava de Barcinas. All

this amid high praise for the reconqueror. And in 1698-1699 Vargas' "servant," Captain Antonio Valverde, who had made his way back to Spain during the imprisonment of his "patron," requested in the name of the latter, and obtained by royal appointment, the post of presidial captain at El Paso, a post which had always been under the direct jurisdiction of the ruling governor of the province, and not an independent royal appointment.²⁵ In 1698 the king finally granted Vargas an *encomienda* in New Mexico with an annual income of 4,000 pesos. In bestowing these many favors, always the deciding factor was that "the services of Don Diego de Vargas are very worthy of being regarded by your Majesty and rewarded." It is also of importance to note that his contemporary, Juan de Villagutierre y Sotomayor, chronicler of the Council of the Indies, wrote for publication a laudatory two-volume history of the reconquest by Vargas, which he described as "these things which deserve so much not to be cast into the deep recesses of silence."²⁶ Locally, the luster of his achievements may seem to be dimmed by the activities of Cubero and his partisans, but from the broader point of view of the Spanish colonial empire, these facts show a truer appreciation of the achievements of the reconqueror.

It was not until the spring of 1700 that the authorities in Madrid learned that Vargas had been held by Cubero a prisoner in Santa Fe since October 2, 1697. After his release in the summer of 1700 he was fully exonerated, and finally, in the winter of 1703, "the grizzled old campaigner" returned to his old post as governor of New Mexico. Before his arrival Cubero fled in cowardly fashion, and the *cabildo* promptly humiliated itself by retracting all the charges which it had preferred against Vargas in the dark days of 1697. The charges of favoritism and of imposing undue hardships on the colonists were perhaps not without foundation.

A born soldier, Vargas was soon campaigning. In the following spring, however, while pursuing a band of Apaches in the Sandía mountains, he was stricken with a fatal illness. He died at Bernalillo on April 8, 1704.²⁷ His body was taken to Santa Fe

²⁵ Royal cédula, Madrid, May 16, 1699. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, legajo 142.

²⁶ Juan de Villagutierre y Sotomayor, (relator del Consejo de Indias), *Historia de la conquista pérdida y restauración de la Nueva Mexico en la America septentrional*. 2 folio vols., n. d., Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MSS. 2822-23.

The above work was never published. The author of this essay is at present translating and editing this interesting and important manuscript.

²⁷ Report of notification of the death of Vargas, Mexico City, August 4, 1704. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, legajo 142.

for burial. An important aspect of the reconqueror's character and spirit is revealed in his last will which reads: "I desire and it is my will to have five hundred masses, two hundred applied to the Holy Virgin of Remedies, my protector, for the benefit of my soul, and three hundred for the souls of the poor who died in the conquest of this kingdom. . . ." ²⁸

CONCLUDING REMARKS

What happened in New Mexico after the reconquest, is well known to students of Southwest history. In the eighteenth century New Mexico became a key province for defense against Indian attack for the whole northern frontier of New Spain. During the first half of the nineteenth century the economic character of these Spanish settlements served as a magnet which was a determining factor in hastening the westward advance of the enterprising and acquisitive Anglo-American frontiersmen. The importance of the Santa Fe trade, based on the existence of permanent Spanish settlements in New Mexico, is well known.

Furthermore, in New Mexico Spanish institutions and Spanish culture took deep root. This distant corner of the old Spanish Empire, now a part of the United States, is even yet a community that is nearly half Spanish in racial origin. Among the Pueblo Indians the Spanish-Catholic tradition is still very much in evidence. The Spanish folk culture which persists, static but undying, is an integral part of the very soul of the region. Retaining many of its original elements, the region is to this day of real importance for the study of cultural fusion, and comparative Spanish philology, folklore, and tradition. In fine Spain modified and gave lasting character to the economy of the region.

In the light of these developments the Spanish reconquest of New Mexico in the last decade of the seventeenth century assumes its true significance in the history of Spanish defensive expansion and colonization in North America. Considering the success which he achieved, Don Diego de Vargas, the hitherto obscure leader and guiding spirit of the reconquest, stands out as an important figure in the broad story of Spain's action in colonial America.

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²⁸ Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, I, 309. See also J. Manuel Espinosa, "The Virgin of the Reconquest of New Mexico," *MID-AMERICA*, VII (1936), 76-81.

A Calendar of La Salle's Travels 1643-1683

Quite an amount of writing has been done about Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, whose exploits in New France and in the Mississippi River region have brought him into popular prominence as an explorer and trader. In view of the sound historical writing already accomplished and in the face of the secondary and even popular accounts, there seems to be no need of a new life of La Salle written along the customary biographical lines. A definitive biography does not appear to be the crying need of the moment, although scholars might welcome such a production. But a handy guide to the movements of La Salle, which can be used as a check against the literature already published, should prove useful, especially if all of the documentary sources for each phase of his career are added.

The purpose of this calendar, then, is achieved if it indicates when and where La Salle was during the first forty years of his life, that is, from November 1643 until November 1683, or from the month and year of his birth to the month and year when he left Quebec, never to return to New France. The last several years of his career spent on an ill-starred venture into Texas have been covered in book form. In the following calendar only those dates have been entered for which there is valid evidence. A distinction had to be made between inferential and positive dates, as will become obvious. In many cases the date is clear and only a reference to the document from which it was derived was necessary. At other times it was useful or necessary to add a few words about the trustworthiness of the evidence. While no attempt has been made to present a bibliography of secondary materials, it is hoped that this calendar form will serve as a guide to most of the presently known and accessible source materials pertaining to La Salle.

1643 November 21.—Birth of Robert Cavelier.

"L'extrait de baptême conservé à Rouen, porte qu'il fut baptisé le 22 Novembre, 1643. [See next entry.] Dans les *Catalogues de la Compagnie de Jésus*, il est dit qu'il naquit le 21 novembre." C. de Roche-monteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII^e siècle*, 3 vols., Paris, 1895-1896, III, 40, note 2.

1643 November 22.—Robert Cavelier, son of Jean Cavelier and

Catherine Geest, was baptized on this day in the parish church of St. Herbland, Rouen, France.

Photograph of the entry in the baptismal register of this parish is in *Louisiane et Texas*, "Voyage de la mission 'Cavelier de la Salle,'" *Cahiers de Politique Etrangère*, n. 68-77, Paris, 1938, facing page 32.

1658 October 5 (*al.* October 15 and October 30).—Robert Cavelier enters the Jesuit Novitiate in Paris.

Rochemonteix, III, 42. For this date and for all those pertaining to La Salle's Jesuit days, Rochemonteix refers to the Catalogues of the Society of Jesus. This period of the explorer's life was recast by G. J. Garraghan, in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, IV, 1935, 268-290, under the title "Some Newly Discovered Marquette and La Salle Letters." The variants given for the date of La Salle's entrance into the novitiate were added in pencil by Father Garraghan in the margin of a reprint of the article, having been found by him, after publication, in the *Catalogi triennales* of the Order. The first date, however, is more probably the correct one, for Robert Cavelier took his vows on October 10, two years later. "Since this publication of the Jesuits [the *Archivum*] is not readily available to readers in our country, and since the three letters were published as they were written in Latin, there are added motives in presenting again the article in part and the letters in an English translation." Garraghan, "La Salle's Jesuit Days," in *MID-AMERICA*, XIX, 1937, 93-103.

1660 October 10.—Robert Cavelier pronounces the first vows of the Society of Jesus, in Paris.

Rochemonteix, III, 42-43. Robert Cavelier took "on this occasion Ignatius for his middle name out of the devotion he bore to the founder of his order. Having thus become by reason of his vows an 'approved scholastic' of the Society of Jesus, he was henceforth to be known in his Jesuit days as Brother, or (during his years of teaching) Master Robert Ignatius Cavelier." Garraghan, *Archivum*, 273.

1660 [October].—Robert Ignatius Cavelier goes to the royal college of La Flèche to begin his course of philosophy.

1662 [October].—He is sent to Alençon to teach *cinquième*, equivalently second year high school.

1663 [October].—He returns to La Flèche to finish his course of philosophy.

1664 [October].—He is sent to Tours to teach *quatrième*, or third year high school.

1665 [October].—He is sent to Blois, to teach *troisième*, or fourth year high school.

Rochemonteix, III, 43; cf. Garraghan, *Archivum*, 274-275, for these five entries.

1666 March 28.—Master Robert Ignatius Cavelier writes to the General of the Order, J. P. Oliva, asking to be sent to China.

The letter is printed in *Archivum*, 287; English translation in *MID-AMERICA*, XIX, 1937, 100-101.

1666 April 5.—A second letter to the General of the Order asking to be sent to Portugal.

Facsimile of the letter in *Archivum*, 283, printed *ibid.*, 289; English translation in *MID-AMERICA*, *loc. cit.*, 102.

1666 [October].—Master Robert Ignatius Cavelier goes from Blois to La Flèche to begin his course of theology.

Rochemonteix, III, 43, 46.

1666 December 1.—He writes to the General of the Order asking to go to China *via* Portugal.

The letter is printed in *Archivum*, 290; English translation in *MID-AMERICA*, *loc. cit.*, 102-103. Rochemonteix, III, 47.

1667 January 10.—Cavelier writes another letter to the Father General.

Rochemonteix, III, 47, note 1.

1667 January 28.—Letter of Father J. Bordier, Provincial of Paris, notifying the Father General, J. P. Oliva, that his advisers think best to dismiss Robert Ignatius Cavelier.

Ibid., 48, note 1.

1667 February 26.—The Father General answers Robert Cavelier's letter of January 10, notifying him that he has empowered Father Bordier to release him from his vows.

Ibid., 47, note 1.

1667 March 28.—"Master Robert Ignatius Cavelier left [the Society of Jesus from] the College of La Flèche."

Ibid., 48, note 2; Garraghan, *Archivum*, 277.

1667 Late Summer or Autumn.—Robert Cavelier arrives in Canada, goes to Montreal, is given land by M. de Queylus, names his concession "Côte de Saint-Sulpice," later to be known as Lachine.

E. M. Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada*, 3 vols., Villemarie, 1866, III, 228-229; for the name of the concession cf. *ibid.*, 298. Faillon bases his statements on documents in the recorder's office in Montreal; regrettably, he did not print them in full. The long ac-

cepted year, 1666, of La Salle's arrival in Canada had to be discarded after Rochemonteix published the date of his departure from La Flèche. The exact day of Cavalier's arrival in Quebec or in Montreal is likely to remain unknown. The note in Faillon, III, 228, implies that La Salle was in Montreal, November 1, 1667, signing the Bugnet marriage contract. The document is said to have disappeared from the notarial archives of Montreal, *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XXXVII, 1931, 269. No Bugnet is listed in Tanguay's *Dictionnaire*. It is not known either when M. de Queylus made the land grant to La Salle, whether on arriving in Canada or the following year, for the Superior of the Sulpicians of Montreal "ne lui donna point alors de titre écrit."

1667 November 7.—"De La Salle, René Cavalier, Signe au mariage Dugué-Moyen."

E. Z. Massicotte, "Les Premiers Colons de Montréal," in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XXXIII, 1927, 620.

1668 Spring and Summer.—La Salle exploits his concession.

On January 9, 1669, La Salle retroceded the whole of his concession to the St. Sulpice Seminary, with the exception of "sept arpens de terre de large sur soixante de profondeur pour son domaine, au lieu où il a déjà fait quelques défrichemens de terre et bastiment commençant sur le bord de la Grande Rivière, fleuve Saint-Laurent. . . ." Greffe de Villemarie, January 9, 1669, referred to in Faillon, III, extract printed in P. Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 vols., Paris, 1876-1888, I, 103, hereinafter cited as Margry. Cf. also the contract of sale of these 420 arpents square, February 3, 1669, Margry, I, 104.

1668 Autumn.—Some Seneca Indians spent most of the autumn at La Salle's house.

Ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans le voyage de M[essieu]rs D'Olier et Galinée, BN, Mss. fr. n. a. 7485:1-25, printed in Margry, I, 112-166; French text and English translation on opposite pages in J. H. Coyne, Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Records*, IV, part I, with a critical account of the provenance, xxviii-xxx. The press mark given by Margry, *Fonds Renaudot*, Carton XVI, liasse 42, was *Renaudot*, vol. 30, when Coyne, in 1901, collated the Margry version with the Paris manuscript; today, it has the press mark as given above; a transcript of the document is in the Library of Congress. The English version published by Coyne was reissued by L. P. Kellogg, in *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699*, New York, 1917, 167-209. To this latter more readily accessible edition references will be made as Galinée's narrative in Kellogg, 170.

1668 October-December.—La Salle after spending some time in Montreal returns to his concession.

On December 16, 1668 (cf. Greffe de Villemarie, 16 déc. 1668, concession de La Salle à Barthélémy Vinet, Faillon, III, 229, 298), "he [La Salle] had just returned home [Côte de Saint-Sulpice] after a two months [?] stay in town in the house of Sieur Claude Robutel, which he had leased by deed before Basset on the 15th November." J. D. Girouard, *Lake St. Louis, old and new, illustrated, and Cavalier de la Salle*, Montreal, 1893, 23.

1669 January 9-February 3.—La Salle cedes a part of his concession to M. de Queylus; sells his fief, house, and other buildings to Jean Milot and moves to Montreal.

Faillon, III, 229, 298; Margry, I, 103-105. "The following entry is to be found in the terrier (of the Sulpicians of Montreal, lords of the Island): 'N° 467 to 471 exclusively. Sr. Robert le [?] Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle, concessionnaire of 420 arpents in superficies, en fief, the 11th January 1669, besides 100 arpents given to Jean Milot upon the same conditions to replace 4 arpents superficies on the frontage which he gave up for the construction of the church and parsonage, and the seigneurs' mill. He owes fealty and homage.'" Girouard, *Lake St. Louis*, 16-17.

1669 After February 3.—La Salle acquires a house in Montreal.

Cf. Margry, I, 106, for the hiring of Charles Thoulonnier, the act was: "Fait et passé au dit Montréal, en la maison du dit sieur de la Salle, l'an 1669, le premier jour de juillet, avant midy."

1669 Spring.—La Salle in Quebec.

Galinée's narrative, in Kellogg, 169.

1669 End of June to July 6.—La Salle in Montreal.

Galinée's narrative, in Kellogg, 169; Margry, I, 106, 107, 109-112.

1669 July 6.—The Dollier-Galinée expedition leaves Montreal.

Galinée's narrative, in Kellogg, 170. "The adventurers, with the exception of La Salle, who followed some days afterward, left Montreal, on the 6th of July, in seven birch-bark canoes with twenty-one men, including a surgeon, a Dutch and Algonkin interpreters, besides two canoes of Senecas, who were to conduct the party." Coyne, xxii. There is nothing about La Salle leaving afterward in the text of Galinée; the latter mentions the date twice and does not suggest that La Salle left after July 6; nor is there any suggestion of La Salle leaving afterward in Dollier de Casson's *Histoire du Montréal*, Quebec, 1871, 112. What seems to have led Mr. Coyne to this conclusion is probably the date of a document in Margry, I, 105, "Fait à Montréal, le 9^e juillet 1669"; a misprint perhaps, for the same document is actually dated February 9, *ibid.*, 104. The printed evidence shows that if somebody left some days after July 6, it must have been the surgeon, cf. *ibid.*,

107-108; however, the date may have been inaccurately transcribed by Faillon's copyist, or by Margry, or it may be a misprint.

1669 July.—The expedition reaches Otondiata, an island forty miles from Montreal up the St. Lawrence.

Galinée's narrative, in Kellogg, 174.

1669 August 2.—They arrive at Lake Ontario.

Ibid., 175.

1669 August 8.—Stopover at an "island where a Seneca Indian had made a sort of country house."

Ibid., 176.

1669 August 11.—"After thirty-five days of very difficult navigation, we arrived at a small stream, called by the Indians Karontagouat," identified as the Irondequoit River, New York.

Ibid., 177.

1669 August 12.—La Salle and Galinée leave for a nearby Iroquois village.

Ibid., 179.

1669 Between August 12 and August 20.—La Salle and Galinée go to the sulphur spring.

Ibid., 182.

1669 September 24.—The expedition reaches Tinawatawa.

Ibid., 191.

1669 September 30.—La Salle leaves Dollier and Galinée near the entrance of Lake Erie; that is, at Tinawatawa, a small village thought to have been situated near Westover, Ontario.

Galinée's narrative, in Kellogg, 194. "Le Sieur de la Salle . . . fit divers voyages, tantost avec des François, tantost avec des Sauvages, et mesme avec MM. Dollier et Galinée, prestres du séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, l'année 1669; mais une violente fièvre l'obligea à les quitter à l'entrée du lac Erié." Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Clairambault, 1016:85. This quotation is from the *Relation des découvertes et des voyages du Sieur de la Salle*, and is printed in Margry, I, 435-544; it has been reprinted from Margry with a page for page English translation by M. B. Anderson under the title *Relation of the Discoveries and Voyages of Cavalier de La Salle from 1679 to 1681*, Chicago, 1901.

A few words about the manuscripts of this relation are in place here. Three fragments are found among Abbé Claude Bernou's papers. The first, a four-page draft, BN, Clairambault, 1016:51-52v, with many erasures and corrections is in the handwriting of Bernou; the second, *ibid.*, f. 85-91v, is the same as the above, but in the hand of a copyist;

both fragments cover only the first pages of Margry's printed text. The third fragment, in the same copyist's hand as the second, *ibid.*, 92-147v, covers page 466 to page 540 of Margry's printed text. The whole relation is in the Archives du Service Hydrographique, vol. 67, n. 4. There are only slight variations between the third fragment and the complete copy; it is the latter which Margry printed. This *Relation des découvertes* was certainly written by Bernou, and was handed in to Seignelay, Colbert's son, in the first months of 1682, together with another autograph memoir of Bernou, BN, Clairambault, 1016:190-193, printed, minus the marginal headings, in Margry, II, 277-288.

The *Relation des découvertes* is not a primary source; it is a narrative by a contemporary based on some letters of La Salle and on other accounts, for instance, that of the Dollier-Galinée expedition. Nevertheless, it is the only extant evidence concerning some parts of La Salle's journeys. With one exception, all the letters in which the explorer narrates his travels from 1678 to 1682, have come down mutilated. There is little about La Salle's activities before 1678 in the narrative; and the reason for this dearth of information is not far to seek. Barring the Dollier-Galinée expedition, La Salle, except for a few trips to the Iroquois country, remained in Lower Canada, and had nothing to report. The lack of proportion between the first eleven years of the explorer's life in Canada, three printed pages in Margry, and the last three, more than one hundred printed pages in Margry, did not escape Bernou. In 1684, when La Salle was in France, the abbé wrote to Renaudot to give him "my relation." The explorer might use it as an outline, or better re-write it "n'en estant pas moi mesme beaucoup satisfait surtout dans les commencemens ou je manquois de dates et de memoires." BN, Manuscrits français, nouvelles acquisitions, 7497:89. In general, dates and places, after 1678, found only in the *Relation des découvertes*, because of the mutilation of La Salle's letters, can be accepted as trustworthy evidence, for a comparison between these data in the *Relation* and in the extant La Salle autograph fragments shows that Bernou faithfully transcribed them in his narrative.

1670 Early Summer.—Nicolas Perrot met La Salle on the Ottawa River, near Arnprior.

"Quand nous eusmes descendu les Calumets, nous rencontrâmes un peu au-dessous des Chats, Mr. de la Salle qui estoit à la chasse avec cinq ou six François et dix ou douze Iroquois." J. Tailhan, ed., *Memoire sur les Moeurs, Coustumes et Religion des Sauvages de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, Leipzig and Paris, 1864, 119-120.

1670 September.—La Salle comes to Quebec and is sent on an exploratory journey by Courcelle and Talon.

Talon arrived at Quebec, August 18, 1670. In October, he wrote to the king that, in the interval, he had sent adventurers to the west,

northwest, south, and southwest of Canada. Talon to Louis XIV, November, i. e., October 10, 1670, in *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1930-1931*, Quebec, 1931 (to be quoted as RAPQ). To Colbert Talon wrote that the St. Lawrence had its headwaters in the west, while the tributaries of the river "ouvrent le chemin au nord et au sud, c'est par ce mesme fleuve qu'on peut esperer de trouver quelque jour l'ouverture au Mexique et c'est au premières de ces découvertes que nous avons envoyé Monsieur de Courcelles et moy le S' de la Salle qui a bien de la chaleur pour ces entreprises, tandis que par un autre endroit j'ay fait partir the S' de St. Lusson pour pousser vers l'ouest." Talon to Colbert, November 10, 1670, RAPQ, 1931, 136. Talon's secretary seems to have made a mistake with regard to the direction taken by La Salle, and Colbert misunderstood the intendant with regard to the direction taken by St. Lusson. The minister answered: "La resolution que vous avez prise d'envoyer le S' de la Salle, du costé du sud, et le S' de St. Lusson du coste du Nord, pour decouvrir le passage de la mer du Sud [Pacific Ocean], est fort bonne." Colbert to Talon, [February 11, 1671], RAPQ, 1931, 146. In his letter to the king, November 2, 1671, Talon specifies the direction taken by La Salle: "Le S' de la Salle n'est pas encore de retour de son voyage du costé du sud de ce pais, mais le S' de St. Lusson est revenu, . . ." RAPQ, 1931, 157. A vague reference to this official exploration is found in Bernou's *Relation*, Margry, I, 436, and in C. Le Clercq, *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France*, 2 vols., Paris, 1691, translated into English by J. G. Shea, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France by Father Christian Le Clercq*, 2 vols., New York, 1881, II, 89. For all that pertains to La Salle the *First Establishment* is not a primary source, but is, at best, a third-hand account; the few references to this narrative will be to the more accessible English translation.

1671 August 6.—La Salle in Montreal.

"On y [recorder's office of Montreal] voit que, le 6 du mois d'août 1671, il [La Salle] avait reçu à crédit, *dans son grand besoin & nécessité* [italics not ours] des mains de M. Migeon de Branssat, procureur fiscal à Villemarie, des marchandises, qui se montalent à la somme de quatre cent cinquante-quatre livres tournois." Faillon, III, 313.

1671 November 2.—La Salle has not yet returned to Quebec with the report of his exploratory journey.

Talon to Louis XIV, November 2, 1671, RAPQ, 1931, 157.

1672 December 18.—La Salle domiciled at Montreal renews his promissory note.

"On y [recorder's office of Montreal] voit encore que, le 18 décembre 1672, étant à Villemarie, il [La Salle] promit de payer, au mois d'août suivant, la même somme [454 livres tournois] en argent

monnayé, ou en pelleteries, soit à Villemarie, en la maison de M. Le Ber, où il demeurerait, soit à Rouen, en celle de M. Nicolas Crevel, conseiller du Roi & maître des comptes, son parent." Faillon, III, 313.

1672-1673 Winter of.—La Salle in the Iroquois country.

"Cependant comme j'eus avis cet hiver par le S^r de la Salle qui était chez les Iroquois. . . ." Frontenac to Colbert, November 13, 1673, RAPQ, 1927, 36.

1673 Early in.—La Salle is sent by Frontenac to invite the Iroquois to Cataracouy.

". . . He [Frontenac] selected Sieur de la Salle as a person qualified for such a service by the different journeys he had made into that country [Iroquoia] and by his acquaintance with the Indians. He sent him orders to leave Montreal as soon as the navigation would permit, and to proceed to Onontagué [Onondaga] the place where all the Nations assemble for business and to invite them to send delegates to Kenté towards the end of June; he was to carry the same message, should he think proper, to the four other [Iroquois] villages." Journal of Count Frontenac's Voyage to Lake Ontario in 1673, in E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, IX, 97; cf. Frontenac to Colbert, November 13, 1673, RAPQ, 1927, 36.

1673 July 10.—La Salle at the Seneca village.

Letter of Father Garnier to Frontenac, Margry, I, 239; instead of Garnier, Margry has Gravier, who did not come to Canada until 1685; the manuscript copy of this letter in Archives des Colonies, C 11A, 4:8, has Garnier; this is also the reading in *Relations inédites de la Nouvelle-France, (1672-1679)*, 2 vols., Paris, 1861, I, 346. The date, July 6, given to this letter in Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 57:26, is erroneous.

1673 August 10.—La Salle at Techirogen.

Letter of La Salle to Frontenac, Margry, I, 240.

1673 September 1.—La Salle at a Mohawk village.

Letter of Father Bruyas to Frontenac, Margry, I, 241.

1673 September 9.—La Salle at Techirogen.

Letter of Father de Lamberville to Frontenac, Margry, I, 242.

1673 [October].—La Salle in Quebec.

"Il me semble que le bruit qu'on avait fait courir ce printemps de la prise de Manathe et d'Orange était une véritable prophétie, puisqu'elle est arrivée de la même manière qu'on la publiait alors; quelques circonstances particulières que m'en ait dites le Sr. de la Salle jusqu'à en avoir ouï les coups de canons, j'ai encore peine à le croire." Frontenac to Colbert, November 13, 1673, RAPQ, 1927, 45.

1673 [November].—La Salle in Montreal.

"Mais Bizard, avant de partir [Montreal] pour Québec, eut soin de dresser aussi un procès-verbal de son arrestation et le fit signer par M. Le Ber, par le sieur La Salle, logé dans la maison de celui-là, et par un domestique, qui avaient été témoins de ce qui venait d'avoir lieu." Faillon, III, 477.

1673 [December] until after February 7, 1674.—La Salle in Quebec.

"Au bout de quatre ou cinq jours, M. Perrot, ayant eu connaissance de ce procès-verbal [preceding entry] . . . conçut une violente animosité contre ceux qui l'avaient souscrit. D'abord il fit saisir M. Le Ber, &, pour le punir, l'envoya en prison sans aucune forme de justice. Il n'osa pas en faire autant à l'égard de M. La Salle, . . . & se contenta de le faire observer durant le jour par ses soldats. La Salle s'en aperçut, & craignant d'être saisi à son tour, il jugea qu'il était expédient pour lui de prévenir les violences de M. Perrot, sauta de nuit par-dessus la clôture de la maison & se rendit secrètement à Québec." Faillon, III, 477. That La Salle was still in Quebec on February 7, is seen from the deposition of Villeray before the Sovereign Council, *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France, 1663-1710*, 6 vols., Quebec, 1885-1891, I, 846.

1674 Before March 25 until after May 2.—La Salle in Montreal.

"René Robert Cavelier, sieur de la Salle . . . faisant de présent sa demeure en cette ville [Montreal] . . . après la grande messe [Easter Sunday] . . . s'en alla droit au logis du sieur Le Ber où il demeure." La Salle's deposition, May 2, 1674, in RAPQ, 1922, 129-130.

1674 [Summer].—La Salle at Cataracouy.

The time of the year and the place are inferences. Bernou in his *Relation*, Margry, I, 436, is vague and unspecific, merely stating that when the government of Fort Frontenac became vacant, La Salle went to France to ask for it. Le Clercq's assertions, II, 90, can be discarded; he wrote: "Monsieur de Frontenac cast his eyes on the said sieur [La Salle] to confide to his hands the command of Fort Frontenac, where he was nearly a year, till coming to France in 1675, he obtained etc." When the fort was nearly finished and before his return to Quebec in 1673, Frontenac appointed the Sieur de Brugière as commandant. Frontenac to Colbert, November 13, 1673, RAPQ, 1927, 42. The following year, finding himself unable to finance the upkeep of the fort out of his own pocket and the king unwilling to advance the funds, Frontenac handed the fort over to Messrs. Bazire and Le Ber, "suivant les conventions que vous verrez que j'en ai fait avec eux et que je vous envoie côté D." Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, RAPQ, 1927, 67. In none of the documents is La Salle said to be in any way connected with Cataracouy before May 1674; hence it is inferred that

he went to the fort after that date, probably during the summer. This inference seems to be supported by the following statement in La Salle's memoir petitioning for the proprietorship of the fort: "The proposer, aware of the importance to the Colony of Canada of the establishment of Fort Frontenac, of which he was some time in command. . . ." O'Callaghan, *Documents relative*, IX, 122. The time during which La Salle was in command of Fort Frontenac must have been short, for in November he was already about to leave Quebec for France.

1674 November 14.—La Salle at Quebec is about to leave Canada for France.

Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, RAPQ, 1927, 78. The ships left before November 19, *Jugements et délibérations*, I, 880, 882.

1675 Before April 5 until after May 13.—La Salle in Paris. The king issued letters patent granting the proprietorship of Fort Frontenac and conferred upon him letters of nobility.

Margry, I, 280; O'Callaghan, *Documents relative*, IX, 122; Margry, I, 281-287; Colbert to Frontenac, May 13, 1675, RAPQ, 1927, 84.

1675 After May 30.—La Salle leaves France for Canada.

According to Hennepin, La Salle sailed on the ship that brought Bishop Laval, returning to Canada, and Hennepin himself. *Nouvelle decouverte d'un tres grand Pays, situé dans l'Amerique entre le Nouveau Mexique, et la Mer Glaciale*, Utrecht, 1697, *Avis au lecteur*. The day and the month when the ship left La Rochelle is not known; the date given above is that of a letter of Louis XIV to Frontenac, notifying the governor of the arrival of Duchesneau, RAPQ, 1927, 84. The bishop and the newly appointed intendant came by the same ship.

1675 Between September 2 and 16.—Arrival at Quebec.

The ship that brought Laval and Duchesneau cast anchor before Quebec between these two dates, *Jugements et délibérations*, I, 986, 987-988. "The bishop . . . arrived at Quebec early in September, 1675, in company with Monsieur du Chesneau, . . . who came as intendant of the country." Le Clercq, II, 93.

1675 Until after October 12.—La Salle remains in Quebec.

His title to the Fort Frontenac concession was registered on September 23, *Jugements et délibérations*, I, 994; he took the oath as governor of Fort Frontenac, on October 12, Margry, I, 292-293.

1676 Summer and Autumn.—La Salle is at Fort Frontenac.

"Il [La Salle] avoit résolu de commencer par la construction du fort Frontenac; il en jetta les fondements au mois d'Aoust 1676." BN, Clairambault, 1016:50, printed in Margry, I, 333. This Bernou autograph memoir was composed in 1678. Written at the beginning of the

abbé's association with La Salle, it contains not a few errors and many surmises. A passage of this memoir has been used to prove that La Salle discovered the Ohio at some unspecified time. Frontenac visited the fort in the summer of 1676, *Jugements et délibérations*, II, 74; he returned to Quebec between October 12 and 19, *ibid.*, 79-80, probably with La Salle, cf. next entry.

1676 October 20-November 5.—La Salle in Quebec.

On October 20, he attended a meeting for the regulation of the price of beaver pelts, AC, F 3, 2:32v; two weeks later he granted a tract of land to the Recollects, P.-G. Roy, *Inventaire des Insinuations de la Prévôté de Québec*, 3 vols., Quebec, 1938-1939, III, 208-209.

1677 March 22.—La Salle in Quebec grants a tract of land to the Recollects.

The land grant was made "par Robert Cavelier, escuyer, sieur de la Salle, . . . present en sa personne . . . a Quebec." E. Réveillaud, ed., *Histoire chronologique de la Nouvelle France ou Canada*, Paris, 1888, 191; the deed is listed in *Insinuations de la Prévôté de Québec*, III, 15. In Margry's summary, I, 298, it is not said that La Salle was in Quebec. This land grant, not that of November 5, 1676, is mentioned in Le Clercq, II, 91.

1677 September 7.—La Salle at Fort Frontenac.

Margry, I, 296. Bernou in his memoir of 1678, BN, Clairambault, 1016:50, stated that La Salle left the fort "pour revenir en France au mois de 7^{bre} 1677." Margry, I, 333, misread the month, he has November.

1677 October 24.—La Salle in [Quebec?]

Jugements et délibérations, II, 332.

1678 May 12-July 5.—La Salle in Paris.

The letter patent giving him permission to explore the western part of New France is dated May 12, Margry, I, 337, *Documents relative . . . of the State of New York*, IX, 127. While in Paris, La Salle borrowed money from various individuals to finance his explorations, Margry, I, 425, 427-428; and cf. *id.*, II, 113-114.

1678 July 5.—La Salle leaves Paris for La Rochelle.

Letter of M. Louis Tronson to M. François Dollier de Casson, n. 68; copies of these letters are in the Dominion Archives, Ottawa, Canada.

1678 July 14.—La Salle sails on the *Saint-Honoré* from La Rochelle.

First Relation of Henri de Tonti, dated Quebec, November 14, 1684; two copies are among Bernou's papers, BN, Clairambault, 1016: 220-266, and 267-279, printed in Margry, I, 573-616, hereinafter to be

quoted as I Tonti, Margry, I, 574; Margry's French text was re-issued together with a page for page English translation by M. B. Anderson, *Relation of Henry de Tonty*, Chicago, 1898.—Second Relation of Tonti, written in 1690, sent to Pontchartrain in 1693, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485: 103-118, printed in Margry, *Relations et Mémoires inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la France dans les pays d'outre-mer*, Paris, 1867; this relation, to be referred to as II Tonti, has often been printed in English, the version published by L. P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 286-322, will be used in this article, II Tonti, in Kellogg, 286. Bernou's *Relation*, Margry, I, 438, merely has July 1678.

1678 September 15.—La Salle arrives in Quebec.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 286. September 13, is given in I Tonti, Margry, I, 574; the later date was chosen because a document entitled "Memoire sur la conduite du Sr. de la Salle," AC, F 3, 2:58, dated November 11, 1680, printed in Margry, II, 31, also has September 15. Bernou's *Relation*, Margry, I, 438, reads: "Il arriva à la fin de Septembre à Québec . . .," erroneously translated "the last of September" in Anderson, p. 15; the same error is made in Miss Cross' translation of Hennepin's *Description of Louisiana*, p. 15. The interdependence of the *Description de la Louisiane* and the *Relation des découvertes* for all that pertains to La Salle's journeys is to be studied in a subsequent article.

1678 September 15-November 10.—La Salle in Quebec. He was ill for six weeks on arriving, or shortly after his arrival.

La Salle's incomplete autograph letter to [Thouret]; he finished writing it at Michilimackinac after September 29, 1680, BN, Clairambault, 1016:65-84v, printed in Margry, II, 32-93. On October 26, he attended the "brandy parliament," *Jugements et délibérations*, II, 253. October 10, given by Margry, I, 414, is the date when twenty inhabitants were first summoned; La Salle was not among them; he and two others were called to the meeting when three Canadians originally summoned failed to come, cf. *Jugements et délibérations*, II, 247-248. La Salle signed various promissory notes dated October 28, November 8, Margry, I, 432, 428-429; November 10, *Jugements et délibérations*, II, 332.

1678 November 10.—La Salle leaves Quebec for Montreal.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 574.

1678 November 21.—La Salle arrives at Montreal, where he remained five days.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 574; Margry, I, 428; *Jugements et délibérations*, II, 332. For these years, the dates in Tonti's first memoir—there are comparatively few specific dates in the second—have been found, when checked against independent evidence such as promissory notes or judicial documents, to be singularly accurate.

1678 November 26.—La Salle leaves Montreal for Fort Frontenac.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 575.

1678 December 16.—La Salle arrives at Fort Frontenac.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 575. Bernou in his *Relation*, Margry, I, 438-439, is vague: "Il s'y [Fort Frontenac] rendit luy mesme sitost qu'il eut achevé ses affaires." Le Clercq, II, 109, places La Salle's arrival before November 18.

1678 December 24.—La Salle sails from Fort Frontenac for Niagara.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 575. In II Tonti, Kellogg, 287, there is an error as to the length of time La Salle stayed at Fort Frontenac.

1678 December 25.—The party lands at the mouth of the Genesee River; they go to the Seneca village to get corn; sail to nine leagues from Niagara, and then finish the journey on foot.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 576; II Tonti, Kellogg, 287.

1678 Before December 31.—Arrival at the mouth of the Niagara River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 576.

1679 Until January 30.—La Salle at the shipyard of the *Griffon*.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 576. La Salle's autograph letters to La Motte are dated January 23 and 27; facsimile of the first in RAPQ, 1928, facing page 320, printed in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XXX, 1924, 104-105; the second is printed in Margry, II, 9-10.

1679 January 31.—La Salle leaves the shipyard of the *Griffon*.

"Il [La Salle] m'y fit venir [Tonti to the shipyard] le 30 [January] pour y commander. Ayant pris résolution d'aller au fort de Frontenac sur les glaces, je l'accompagnay jusqu'au lac [Ontario] . . ." I Tonti, Margry, I, 577; cf. II Tonti, Kellogg, 287. There is no authority for Le Clercq's statement that La Salle "made frequent voyages from Fort Frontenac to Niagara, during the winter on the ice, in the spring with vessels loaded with provisions." Le Clercq, II, 111.

1679 February 1.—La Salle chooses an emplacement for a fort at the mouth of the Niagara River.

"Le 1^{er} février, il traça à la sortie de la rivière un fort qu'il nomma Conty." I Tonti, Margry, I, 577.

1679 February-July.—La Salle at Fort Frontenac.

Jugements et délibérations, II, 333, Margry, II, 20.

1679 After July 18.—La Salle leaves Fort Frontenac for Niagara via the Seneca country.

Jugements et délibérations, II, 333. La Salle's route through the Seneca country is mentioned in two autograph letters signed; in that written to [Thouret] after September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 34, 35, and in that addressed to [Bernou], *ibid.*, 215, 217, 219, dated Fort Frontenac, August 22, 1682. The year given on the manuscript, BN, Clairambault, 1016:170, and repeated by Margry, II, 212, is evidently a *lapsus calami* for 1681. Beside the internal evidence which shows plainly that when La Salle wrote this letter he had not as yet gone to the Gulf, it is known for certain that in August 1682, he was not at Fort Frontenac, but in the Illinois country. This route *via* the Seneca villages is also found in a peculiar document, copies of which are in several series. The original, not signed, is in the Archives du Service Hydrographique, vol. 65:n. 15. The upper right hand corner of the verso of the last sheet has this note: "M. de Frontenac 9 nov^r 1680." The upper left, in the handwriting of Colbert, has the following remark: "A Eslargir verifier si je n'a p[as] tout tronqué [?] de ces lettres." There is no known extant letter of Frontenac bearing this date. A copy of the document is in BN, Mss. fr. 15466:224-225v, the present writer has not seen it; a second copy is among Renaudot's papers, BN, Mss. fr. n. a. 7485, pt. II, 134-138v; a third is in AC, C 13C, 3:23-26, it is printed in Margry, II, 93-102, reprinted and translated into English in T. C. Pease and R. C. Werner, ed., *The French Foundations 1680-1693*, pp. 1-16, vol. XXIII, of the *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois, 1934. The reason for including the document in this volume, say the editors, is because of the "adapted form in which it appears in Margry." The three versions collated are slightly different; the variants consist in capitalization, punctuation, spelling, and a few transpositions. "Not a narrative, but a summary of geographical information," noted W. G. Leland in his *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*, Washington, D. C., 1932, 98.

1679 Before July 22.—La Salle arrives at Niagara.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 579.

1679 August 7.—The *Griffon* towed into Lake Erie sails for Michilimackinac the same day.

La Salle's autograph letters, Margry, II, 76, 214; Bernou's *Relation*, Margry, I, 445. The navigation of the *Griffon* is given in great detail in Bernou's *Relation*. There seems to be little doubt that the abbé took the account from the letter which La Salle finished writing after September 29, 1680; the beginning of this letter is missing. The first date mentioned in the extant fragment is January 1, 1680. Margry, II, 36. In his letter of August 22, 1681, La Salle wrote: "Je vous [Bernou] envoie celle que j'escrivois l'an passé à M. Thouret [the letter of September 29, 1680], où vous verrez ce qui s'est fait en detail jusqu'au 16 aoust 1680, depuis nostre depart de l'entrée du lac Erié

[that is, since August 7, 1679, when the *Griffon* sailed for Michilimackinac]. Ce qui a précédé [that is, since La Salle arrived at Quebec September 15, 1678] avoit esté escrit au long dans les lettres que mon frère [Jean Cavelier] a jugé bon d'intercepter." Margry, II, 213. The last statements explain why Bernou's *Relation* is so sketchy concerning La Salle's activities during the first year after his return to New France in 1678. Cf. *supra* the comments added to the entry of September 30, 1669.

1679 August 10.—The *Griffon* at the south entrance of the Lake Erie-Lake Huron strait.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 579; Bernou's *Relation*, Margry, I, 445.

1679 August 27.—Arrival of the *Griffon* at Michilimackinac.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 579; Bernou's *Relation*, Margry, I, 448.

1679 September 12.—The *Griffon* sails from Michilimackinac.

Bernou's *Relation*, Margry, I, 450.

1679 September 18.—La Salle dispatches the *Griffon* to Niagara, from an island at the mouth of Green Bay, identified as Washington Island.

La Salle's autograph letter, *post* September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 73; Bernou's *Relation*, Margry, I, 451.

1679 September 19.—La Salle with fourteen men leaves Washington Island, southward bound.

Bernou's *Relation*, Margry, I, 451.

1679 November 1.—After having followed the west shore of Lake Michigan, the party reaches the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

Bernou's *Relation*, Margry, I, 452-460.

1679 December 3.—After having begun to build a fort, La Salle leaves the mouth of the St. Joseph River for the Kankakee portage.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 580; Bernou's *Relation*, I, 461.

1679 December 6.—The expedition arrives at the headwaters of the St. Joseph River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 581.

1679 December 15.—The expedition at the headwaters of the Kankakee.

Ibid., 582.

1680 January 1.—Arrival at the Great Illinois village, located on the Illinois River, between Utica and Ottawa.

La Salle's autograph letter, *post* September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 36. As said above, from this date on the sequence of dates and places can be followed in this letter of La Salle. The "je" of La Salle becomes "il" in Bernou's *Relation*; the "nous" becomes "ils" or the indefinite "on." Sometimes the chronicler transcribes the explorer's text word for word; a few parallel passages are given below. I Tonti, Margry, I, 582, gives the date of arrival at the Illinois village as December 31, 1679.

1680 January 5.—Arrival at Lake Peoria.

Nous marchasmes quatre journées vers le sud quart de sud-ouest le long de cette rivière et arrivasmes le cinquiesme de Janvier au lieu que les Sauvages appellent en leur langue Pimiteoui. Nous avions aperçu, dès le veille, des fumées en traversant un petit lac; et ce jour-là, sur les neuf heures du matin, nous trouvassmes des deux costez de la rivière quantité de pirogues et vismes de grandes fumées qui sortoient de quatre-vingts cabanes pleines de Sauvages que nous descouvrismes les premiers et qui ne nous aperceurent qu'après que nous eusmes doublé la pointe derrière laquelle ils estoient campez à demy-portée de fusil.

Il [La Salle] se rembarqua le mesme jour [January 1] . . . et descendit durant quatre jours sur la mesme rivière, qui couroit au sud quart de sud-ouest. Sur la fin du quatriesme jour, en traversant un petit lac que forme la rivière, on remarqua des fumées qui firent connoistre que les Sauvages estoient cabanez près de la. En effet, le cinquiesme, sur les neuf heures du matin, on vit des deux costez de la rivière quantité de pirogues et environ quatre-vingts cabanes pleines de Sauvages qui n'aperceurent les canots qu'après qu'ils eurent doublé une pointe derrière laquelle les Illinois estoient cabanez à demi-portée de fusil.

La Salle's letter, *post* September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 37.

Bernou's *Relation*, Margry, I, 466.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 583, has January 4; II Tonti, Kellogg, 289, has January 3, 1679; the error of the year is pointed out by the editor.

1680 January 15.—La Salle goes to the spot where he will build Fort Crèvecoeur.

. . . Nous nous rendismes au lieu que j'avois destiné, le 15 Janvier, sur le soir, un grand dégel, qui survint à propos, ayant rendu la rivière libre depuis Pimiteoui jusques là. C'estoit un petit tertre esloigné du bord de la rivière d'environ trois arpents, jusques au pied duquel elle se répandoit toutes les fois qu'il tomboit beaucoup de pluye.

Un grand dégel estant survenu le 15 Janvier et ayant rendu la rivière libre au-dessous du village, le Sieur de la Salle se rendit avec tous ses canots au lieu qu'il avoit choisy pour y faire un fort. C'estoit un petit tertre esloigné d'environ deux cents pas du bord de la rivière qui s'estendoit jusqu'au pied dans le temps des grandes pluyes.

La Salle's letter, *post* September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 48.

Bernou's *Relation*, Margry, I, 476.

Tonti adds that a bark was begun on January 15, Margry, I, 583.

1680 March 1.—La Salle leaves Fort Crèvecoeur for Niagara and Fort Frontenac.

La Salle gives this date in two autograph letters, Margry, II, 55, 117. There is a promissory note dated Fort Crèvecoeur, March 1 and 2, Margry, I, 429-430. The reason for this discrepancy is probably the following. La Salle left Fort Crèvecoeur with six men, and went to the north end of Lake Peoria, cf. Margry, II, 55; later on the journey, he speaks of only four men. It seems that he left two men behind at the northern end of Lake Peoria, among whom was Hillaret the beneficiary of the promissory note. La Salle may have dated the second note from Fort Crèvecoeur, as he was not far away on March 2. I Tonti, Margry, I, 585, has March 10, and II Tonti, Kellogg, 290, March 22.

1680 March 24.—La Salle and his companions reach the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

La Salle's letter, *post* September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 59. The journey is narrated in detail in this letter, and most of it is repeated word for word by Bernou in his *Relation*, Margry, I, 489 ff.

1680 April 21.—Arrival at Niagara.

La Salle's letter, in Margry, II, 63.

1680 May 6.—Arrival at Fort Frontenac.

Id., *ibid.*, 64.

1680 Second half of May.—La Salle goes to Montreal.

Id., *ibid.*, 69; cf. his letter of 1681, autumn, *ibid.*, 119.

1680 June to August 9.—La Salle at Fort Frontenac.

On July 22, three men arrived at Fort Frontenac bringing the news of the desertion of the workmen in the Illinois country, La Salle's letter, Margry, II, 69-70; the following pages narrate in detail how he captured some of the deserters; all of which is repeated by Bernou in his *Relation*, Margry, I, 497 ff. The date of the arrival of the men from Fort Crèvecoeur, July 9, in Margry, II, 105, is probably an error of transcription.

1680 August 10.—La Salle leaves Fort Frontenac for the Illinois country.

Bernou's *Relation*, Margry, I, 500. This and the following date were probably in La Salle's letter written in the autumn of 1681, Margry, II, 115; the fact that the beginning of this letter is missing is not indicated by Margry.

1680 August 15.—La Salle arrives at Teioñagon, an Iroquois village, sixty leagues from Fort Frontenac, on the north shore of Lake Ontario, not far from present-day Toronto.

Bernou's *Relation*, Margry, I, 500. La Salle describes the portage from Teioiagon to Lake Simcoe as follows: "Une langue de terre . . . qui a treize lieues de large, de Teioiagon au lac Taronto, où il faut porter tout son bagage par la cime de très hautes montagnes." La Salle's letter, autumn, 1681, Margry, II, 125.

1680 August 23.—La Salle, having left Teioiagon the day before, reaches Lake Simcoe on this day.

La Salle's autograph letter, autumn, 1681, Margry, II, 115. From this date until the autumn of 1681, the explorer's travels can be followed in this letter. Bernou repeated the data in his *Relation*, Margry, I, 501 ff.

1680 September 17.—La Salle leaves Sault Ste Marie, where he had arrived the preceding day, for Michilimackinac.

La Salle's letter, autumn, 1681, Margry, II, 116.

1680 October 4.—After three weeks at Michilimackinac, La Salle leaves for the Illinois country.

Ibid., 116, 125.

1680 November 4.—At the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

Margry II Ibid., 125.

1680 November 8-17.—With six Frenchmen and one Indian, La Salle leaves the mouth of the St. Joseph River; a week later they were at the Miami village, and after two days they reached the Kankakee portage.

Ibid., 127.

1680 November 27.—The party stopped at the mouth of the Des Plaines River.

Ibid., 128.

1680 December 1.—Arrival at the Illinois village.

Ibid., 128.

1680 December 2-5.—They left the Illinois village, December 2; stopped for the night, December 3-4, at Fort Crèvecoeur; and were near the Mississippi, at noon, December 5.

Ibid., 131-133.

1680 December 7.—They start up the Illinois River.

Ibid., 136.

1680 December 11.—La Salle, and three Frenchmen and the Indian arrive at the Illinois village where they had left the surgeon, Tamisier and Baron, before descending the Illinois River.

Ibid., 136.

1680 December 28.—La Salle and his seven companions leave the Illinois village.

Ibid., 137.

1681 January 6.—They reach the mouth of the Des Plaines.

Ibid., 137.

1681 January [26].—They arrive at the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

The day of the month is a deduction from the passage of La Salle's letter, Margry, II, 137-138. Which route was followed is not clear, there is no mention of Lake Michigan; one league up the Des Plaines, La Salle left D'Autray and another man to guard the merchandise; he then followed the Des Plaines on foot for one day, and seems to have cut across the country to the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

1681 March 1.—La Salle and all his men leave the mouth of the St. Joseph River for the Illinois country.

Margry, II, 143. The route followed is not given; there is no mention of the Kankakee portage, nor of the portage of Chicago. "Nous estions quinze bien équipés d'armes et de raquettes, et un fort verglas avoit tellement affermy la neige qu'on y marchoit avec facilité." This would seem to indicate that they traveled across the country.

1681 March 15.—Arrival at the Illinois village.

Ibid., 144.

1681 March [25].—They leave the Illinois village for the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

Ibid., 146. The day of the month is an inference from what La Salle says in Margry, II, 145-146.

1681 April.—A short time after his arrival at the mouth of the St. Joseph, La Salle leaves for the Miami village up the river.

Margry, II, 148.

1681 April-May.—Return to the mouth of the St. Joseph River where a fort is begun.

Ibid., 158.

1681 May 25.—La Salle leaves the mouth of the St. Joseph River for Michilimackinac.

Ibid., 158.

1681 June 6.—La Salle arrives at Michilimackinac.

"M. de la Salle arriva le lendemain [of Corpus Christi, June 5]." I Tonti, Margry, I, 592. In his second memoir, Tonti wrote: "We reached Michilimackinac about Corpus Christi in 1680 [i. e., 1681],

M. de la Salle arrived some time afterwards." II Tonti, Kellogg, 296. No source gives the route of La Salle, whether he followed the east or west shore of Lake Michigan.

1681 After June 6.—La Salle accompanied by Tonti, Father Membré, and some Frenchmen, leaves Michilimackinac for Fort Frontenac *via* Lake Simcoe, Teioïagon, and the northern shore of Lake Ontario.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 593; cf. II Tonti, Kellogg, 296. La Salle in his letter of the autumn, 1681, does not mention the route he followed; Margry, II, 158; but Bernou says that he went to Fort Frontenac "by the Lake Toronto route." Margry, I, 543.

1681 Latter part of June.—La Salle leaves Tonti and three men near Lake Simcoe, and arrives with Membré at Fort Frontenac, where he finds letters from Frontenac ordering him to go to Montreal.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 593; La Salle's letter, Margry, II, 158; cf. II Tonti, Kellogg, 296.

1681 August 11.—La Salle at Montreal.

Margry, II, 163; RAPQ, 1922, 190.

1681 August 24.—La Salle having returned from Montreal to Fort Frontenac, left the fort after this date.

La Salle's autograph letter of August 22, 1681, in Margry, II, 212; a promissory note is dated August 24, Margry, I, 430.

1681 Latter part of September.—La Salle at the Teioïagon-Lake Simcoe portage.

The date is an inference. La Salle left Fort Frontenac for this portage on or after August 24; this journey took about a week. At Teioïagon, he wrote the letter which has been dated the autumn, 1681. At the end of this letter he told his correspondent: "Nous avons résolu de faire cet automne le voyage à la mer, mais celui de Montréal m'a tellement retardé que je ne sçay si nous le pourrons. J'appréhende bien mesme qu'il ne me fasse manquer de renvoyer à M. Plet tout ce que je luy avois promis, *ayant esté arrêté icy ou je vous écris cette lettre, à Teioïagon quinze jours pour faire le portage de mes hardes*, et les Sauvages ayant esté quasy tous pris de la fièvre et la plupart de mes gens. . . ." Margry, II, 158. Bernou had this letter as well as that of August 22, written at Fort Frontenac; yet when at the beginning of 1683, he composed the so-called *Relation officielle* of the journey to the Gulf, he wrote: "Le sieur de la Salle s'embarqua sur le lac Toronto . . . à la fin du mois d'aoust de l'année 1681." MID-AMERICA, XXII, 1940, 28.

1681 First part of October.—La Salle at Michilimackinac.

The date and the place are inferences. Coming from Georgian Bay and heading for the St. Joseph River, La Salle could hardly avoid the post. The inference is corroborated by the Relation of Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 549. Margry printed this relation, I, 547-570, from a copy in a three volume set of manuscripts in the possession of a bookseller, Leon Techener; the text was reprinted with a page for page English translation by M. B. Anderson, *Relation of the Discovery of the Mississippi River written from the Narrative of Nicolas de la Salle, otherwise known as the little M. de la Salle*, Chicago, 1898. There is another version of this relation in the E. E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago; cf. R. L. Butler, *A Check List of Manuscripts*, Chicago, 1937, 35. If the Techener copy was faithfully reproduced by Margry, a comparison of the two versions reveals several omissions in that which the latter printed. For the rest the variants consist mainly in spelling, capitalization, etc. The chronology is not very reliable; nearly all the dates are said to be "the day after." The specific dates which can be accepted will be pointed out. It must also be said that internal evidence shows the relation to have been abridged by the first copyist.

1681 December 19.—La Salle arrives at the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 593. "M. de la Salle joined us in December," according to II Tonti, Kellogg, 296. La Salle's autograph fragment—it lacks both the beginning and the end—in Margry, II, 164, begins with these words: "... un peu avant Noel"; the place is the mouth of the St. Joseph River. Bernou, in the *Relation officielle*, MID-AMERICA, XXII, 1940, 28, has "toward the beginning of November." The correct dates of this official report are taken from the letter of Tonti of July 23, 1682, from that of Father Membré of June 3, 1682, and from the *procès-verbaux* of La Métairie. A letter from a Recollect, written from St. Bonaventure Island, August 14, 1682, is a summary with errors of transcription of Father Membré's letter. Thus, December 16, is given as the date of La Salle's at the mouth of the St. Joseph River. Owing to the loss of the beginning of La Salle's letter mentioned above, the route followed when he left Michilimackinac for the southern shore of Lake Michigan can only be surmised, but it seems probable that the expedition took the west shore route.

1681 December 28.—La Salle leaves the mouth of the St. Joseph River for Chicago; he followed on foot the south shore of Lake Michigan.

La Salle's autograph fragment, Margry, II, 165. The second *procès-verbal* of La Métairie, *ibid.*, 186, has December 27; the same date is given in Tonti's letter dated Michilimackinac, July 22, 1682, BN, Clairambault, 1016:165v-168v, printed in French and English in oppo-

site column, M. A. Habig, *The Franciscan Père Marquette*, New York, 1934, 215-229.

1682 Before January 6.—La Salle at Chicago.

La Salle's autograph fragment, Margry, II, 166.

1682 January 6.—La Salle joins Tonti and the rest of his men on the Des Plaines River.

Ibid.; Tonti's letter, Habig, 215, has January 4; I Tonti, Margry, I, 593, January 14.

1682 January 10 and 11.—Somewhere down the Des Plaines.

La Salle's autograph fragment, Margry, II, 169. These are the last two dates given in the document.

1682 January 25.—The expedition assembled at Pimiteoui.

La Métairie's second *procès-verbal*, Margry, II, 187.

1682 February 6-13.—The expedition stopped one week at the mouth of the Illinois River.

Ibid., and Tonti's letter, Habig, 216.

1682 February 14.—At the Tamaroa village on the east bank of the Mississippi.

La Métairie second *procès-verbal*, Margry, II, 187; Tonti's letter, Habig, 216; I Tonti, Margry, I, 596.

1682 February 24-March 3.—These days were spent in the vicinity of Memphis, searching for Pierre Prud'homme.

La Métairie's second *procès-verbal*, Margry, II, 187; Tonti's letter, Habig, 216.

1682 March 3.—Having found Prud'homme, they resume their way southward.

Tonti's letter, Habig, 217; I Tonti, Margry, I, 598.

1682 March 12.—The first Quapaw (Arkansas) village is sighted.

La Métairie's first and second *procès-verbal*, Margry, II, 182, 189; Membré's letter, *ibid.*, 207, has March 13.

1682 March 13-14.—First taking of possession of the country by La Salle, in the Arkansas village.

La Métairie's first *procès-verbal*, Margry, II, 183-185, second *procès-verbal*, *ibid.*, 189. Tonti's letter, Habig, 218, has March 14 only. "C'estoit dans le mois de Mars que cela se passoit," Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 554.

1682 [March 17].—The expedition leaves the last Arkansas village.

The date is an inference from the second *procès-verbal* of La Métairie, Margry, II, 189. The date given in Membré's letter, by Margry, II, 209, is an addition of the editor, there is a blank space in the manuscript, BN, Clairambault, 1016:209.

1682 March 20.—Arrival at the Taensa villages.

La Métairie's second *procès-verbal*, Margry, II, 189; the same date is implied in II Tonti, Kellogg, 300; they left March 22 according to these two sources. In Tonti's letter, Habig, 218, and in I Tonti, Margry, I, 600, the expedition is said to have arrived on March 22.

1682 March 26.—La Salle visits the Natchez village.

Tonti's letter, Habig, 220-221; cf. I Tonti, Margry, I, 602-603.

1682 March 27.—Arrival at the Koroa village.

Tonti's letter, Habig, 221. According to II Tonti, Kellogg, 301, they camped at the mouth of the Red River on this day.

1682 March 29.—The expedition leaves the Koroa village.

Tonti's letter, Habig, 221; I Tonti, Margry, I, 604.

1682 April 3.—Opposite the Quinipissa village, on the river.

La Métairie's second *procès-verbal*, Margry, II, 190; Tonti's letter, Habig, 222, has April 2.

1682 April 6.—The expedition reaches the head of the passes of the Mississippi.

La Métairie's second *procès-verbal*, Margry, II, 190; Tonti's letter, Habig, 222; I Tonti, Margry, I, 605.

1682 April 7.—The expedition reaches the Gulf of Mexico.

La Métairie's second *procès-verbal*, Margry, II, 190; Membré's letter, *ibid.*, 211; Tonti's letter, Habig, 222; I Tonti, Margry, I, 605; II Tonti, Kellogg, 302.

1682 April 9.—Near present-day Venice, Louisiana, La Salle takes possession of the Mississippi Valley in the name of the King of France.

La Métairie's second *procès-verbal*, Margry, II, 191; Tonti's letter, Habig, 223; La Salle's letter to La Barre, Margry, II, 313; I Tonti, Margry, I, 605; Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 562. The last annalist shows here a complete detachment from chronology. Page 563, he gives April 10, the correct date when the expedition began the ascent of the Mississippi. Several days before, however, when they were still near the Tangipahoa village, he has: "C'estoit la fin de la semaine sainte, vers le 15 Avril 1682." The omission of the word *sainte* in the Margry version leaves two chronological mistakes instead of three; the expedition reached the Tangipahoa village not at the end of Holy Week, but at the end of Easter Week; April 15, 1682, was not the

end of the week, it was the Wednesday of the second week after Easter.

1682 April 10.—Beginning of the return journey.

Membré's letter, Margry, II, 211; letter from St. Bonaventure Island, *ibid.*, 205; I Tonti, Margry, I, 605; Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 563.

1682 [April 16].—The expedition reaches the Tangipahoa village.

This date, an inference from the text of Nicolas de la Salle, seems the more acceptable one. He wrote: "Le lendemain 10 Avril, 1682, on alla cabaner à quatre lieues [from the place where La Salle had taken possession of Louisiana] en pays noyé. Il l'estoit plus qu'à l'ordinaire à cause du dégel du nord. Ayant navigué sept jours [hence April 16], on arriva au village détruit." Margry, I, 563. Tonti's letter, Habig, 224, has April 12, and I Tonti, Margry, I, 605, April 14. Both dates are probably erroneous; it is difficult to believe that, if the first date is taken, it took less time to ascend the Mississippi when the river was high than to descend it; if the second date is adopted, it would have taken them only one day more to cover the same distance upstream as downstream. According to these two sources, they left this village on April 16, after having spent several days.

1682 May 3.—The expedition leaves the Taensa villages; but La Salle takes the lead with three canoes.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 610-611; no date is given in Tonti's letter, Habig, 227, and he speaks of only two canoes; Nicolas de la Salle, speaks of one canoe, Margry, I, 568. From the Tangipahoa village to the Taensa, the local and chronological sequences are hopelessly entangled. According to Tonti's letter, Habig, 227, they arrived at the Koroa village April 29 and left May 1. The same date of arrival is given in I Tonti, Margry, I, 608, but in this narrative, they are said to have arrived at the Taensa portage, April 30. Cf. the charts in MID-AMERICA, XXII, 1940, 37-38. After they left the Koroa, "on alla aux Natché [on passa par un petit ruisseau que la Riviere fait, ce qui abrégé le chemin de 6 lieues, on cabana vis a vis les Natche] de l'autre costé de la rivière." Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 566, the words in brackets are not in Margry's version.

1682 May 17.—La Salle reaches the Arkansas.

Membré's letter, Margry, II, 211; St. Bonaventure Island letter, *ibid.*, 205.

1682 May 20.—Having heard a false report that Tonti who followed had been attacked and defeated, La Salle remained at the Arkansas village until this date. When Tonti arrived, the explorer again took the lead.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 611; cf. Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 568.

1682 June 2.—La Salle is joined by Tonti, one hundred leagues from the Illinois River.

"Mais [La Salle] ayant esté arresté de maladie, je le joignit le 2 Juin a cent lieues de la riviere des Illinois, ou il me fit prendre le devant pour lever ses caches aux Miamis. . . ." Tonti's letter, Habig, 227. In his 1684 narrative, Tonti has: ". . . et le dernier May, estant arrivé au fort Prud'homme, je le vis attaqué d'une maladie mortelle." I Tonti, Margry, I, 611. In his narrative of 1690, he says: "From thence [Arkansas] he came to Fort Prudhomme, where M. de la Salle fell dangerously ill, which obliged him to send me forward, with five others, to arrange his affairs at Missilimakinak." II Tonti, Kellogg, 304. If Tonti joined La Salle in the vicinity of Memphis, the distance to the mouth of the Illinois River was 170 leagues. The date, June 2, is more likely correct, for the letter of Father Membré, dated June 3, reads: "Le prompt départ de M. de Tonty [m'oste] les moyens de vous écrire amplement." Margry, II, 206. In the same letter, the missionary seems to imply that La Salle fell ill at the Arkansas village, "à deux cents lieues de la mer, d'où je me donne l'honneur de vous écrire par la voye de M. de Tonti." *Ibid.*, 211. This was understood by the author of the résumé: "M. de la Salle y [Arkansas] tomba dangereusement malade." *Ibid.*, 205; the writer added: "mais il estoit hors de péril le 3^e juin, ne pouvant pas neantmoins souffrir encore le canotage." The narrative of Nicolas de la Salle seems to confirm the last statement. When they joined La Salle, the explorer was still very ill, but was able to resume the journey north seven or eight days after the departure of Tonti, Margry, I, 569. La Salle's autograph letter written at Michilimackinac in October 1682 has: "J'ay esté attaqué, au retour, d'une maladie mortelle qui m'a tenu quarante jours depuis le 10 May." Margry, II, 288, but the manuscript, BN, Clairambault, 1016:148, has May 20; this was the date when he left the Arkansas. In his *placet* to La Barre, Margry, II, 311, dated October 5, 1682, La Salle says he was ill four months, cf. Margry, III, 31.

1682 [June 10-11].—La Salle leaves [the vicinity of present-day Memphis] for the North.

Nicolas de la Salle's narrative, Margry, I, 569. This and the following dates are inferences from this account. The chronicler had written that the expedition arrived at the Taensa village, June 1, 1682, one month later than the actual date. If, however, the day of Tonti's departure, June 3, is taken as a starting point, and considering the time necessary to cover the distance rowing upstream, Nicolas de la Salle's chronology for this section of the return journey is not improbable.

1682 [June 27].—Arrival at the Tamaroa village.

Ibid., 569.

1682 [June 29].—At the mouth of the Illinois River.

Ibid., 569.

1682 [July 12].—Arrival at Fort Crèvecoeur.

Ibid., 569.

1682 July 15.—Arrival at the Illinois village.

Ibid., 569. This date is given by Nicolas de la Salle.

1682 After July 15.—La Salle leaves the Illinois village for the St. Joseph River via Chicago.

Ibid., 569. In the *Relation officielle*, MID-AMERICA, XXII, 1940, 35, Bernou places La Salle's arrival at the St. Joseph River "vers le mois de September."

1682 September.—La Salle arrives at Michilimackinac.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 304. The route followed by La Salle from the St. Joseph River to the post in the north is not known.

1682 October 3 to [November?].—La Salle at Michilimackinac.

Margry, I, 430; II, 303, 310-311. La Salle's autograph letter signed, Margry, II, 288 ff., was written here.

1682 December 2.—La Salle at the St. Joseph River.

Land grant made on this day to Michel Disy, facsimile facing p. 24, in Girouard, *Lake St. Louis*; printed and translated in Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 42-44. December 2, 1683, is when Disy deposited the deed with Antoine Adhémar, the royal notary.

1682 December 30.—La Salle joins Tonti in the Illinois country.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 613.

1683 January-May.—La Salle, at Starved Rock, builds Fort St. Louis.

La Salle to La Barre, April 2, 1683, Margry, II, 312; I Tonti, Margry, I, 613; II Tonti, Kellogg, 305; Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 19; Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 570.

1683 June 4.—La Salle at Chicago.

La Salle to La Barre, Margry, II, 317.

1683 After June 4.—La Salle returns to Fort St. Louis.

Id. to *id.*, *ibid.*, 328.

1683 August 11.—La Salle at Fort St. Louis.

Land grant to Pierre Prud'homme, Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 28.

1683 After August 11.—La Salle leaves Fort St. Louis.

Tonti does not specify the day, he merely says in August, I Tonti, Margry, I, 613; in his second memoir he gives September, II Tonti, Kellogg, 305.

1683 September 1.—La Salle at Chicago.

Letter of La Salle to the inhabitants of Fort St. Louis, Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 36.

1683 November 2-11.—La Salle in Quebec.

Margry, I, 431-432; III, 35-36; MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 305. Only two points of La Salle's route of his last journey in New France after he left Chicago, are known: Michilimackinac, Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 37. Cf. Margry, II, 338, III, 33, and Fort Frontenac, Margry, III, 35. From Chicago to Michilimackinac, it is probable that he followed the west shore of Lake Michigan, and that he went from Michilimackinac to Fort Frontenac by way of Lake Simcoe-Teioiagon, a route which he knew well.

1683 Between November 12 and November 22.—La Salle leaves Quebec for France.

La Salle's last promissory note is dated Quebec, November 11, 1683, Margry, I, 431; the ships sailed before November 22, *Jugements et délibérations*, II, 907, 910. "Ils [La Salle and Nicolas de la Salle] arrivèrent à Quebec le 13 November 1682 [i. e., 1683]." Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 570. La Salle arrived at Quebec before November 13; this is probably the date when the ships weighed anchor.

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Notes and Comment

UNDERSTANDING HISPANIC AMERICA: SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The past few years, due to recent overseas developments, have witnessed a great revival of efforts toward Western Hemisphere solidarity. Among other revitalized pan-American activities there has been a noticeable increase in the publications of literature concerning Hispanic America. It is hoped that this interest will continue, and not be permitted to become identified only with abnormal times. Articles aimed to create a more sympathetic understanding between the United States and our southern neighbors have been appearing in a number of popular and professional journals where normally they would not be found (e. g., "Cultural Heritages with the Spanish American Republics," *Journal of the American Association of Collegiate Registrars*, XV (July 1940), 354-366). Literature on our economic relations with the Hispanic American republics is no longer hard to find in current publications. The bookstands throughout the country contain an increased number of South American travel books. There has been a bumper crop of books about the Spanish Southwest, predominantly of the popular variety. We have been overwhelmed with a plethora of one-volume histories of Hispanic America, brief and long, some designed for "the average responsible United States citizen who tries to learn what he ought to know about South America," and others college textbooks.

From this maze of literature a number of recent essays and articles in which an attempt is made to survey and evaluate the civilization of Hispanic America deserve more than passing notice. *The Civilization of the Americas*, Berkeley, 1938, contains the following six papers: L. B. Simpson, "New Lamps for Old in Latin America"; R. L. Beals, "The Emergence of Latin American Culture"; H. I. Priestly, "Four Centuries of Growth in the Americas"; C. L. Alsberg, "The Economic Position of Latin America"; M. P. González, "Intellectual Relations Between the United States and Spanish America"; R. H. Fitzgibbon, "The Rôle of Latin America in World Politics." *Concerning Latin American Culture*, New York, 1940, consists of the following eleven papers: B. M. Cherrington, "Cultural Relations of the United States in the Western World"; R. F. Pattee, "The Crossways of the Americas"; F. de los Ríos, "Spain in the Epoch of American Colonization," and "The Action of Spain in America"; G. Freyre, "Some Aspects of the Social Development of Portuguese America"; C. C. Griffin, "The Significance of Native Indian Culture in Hispanic America"; N. Weyl, "Mexico, European and Native"; W. Berrien, "Some Considerations Regarding Contemporary Latin American Mu-

sis"; R. C. Smith, "Brazilian Art"; C. R. James, "Spanish American Literature and Art"; A. Labarca Hubertson, "Educational Developments in Latin America." In both volumes the papers vary considerably in merit, but they afford a diversity of approach to the subject and a variety in their value judgments that are stimulating.

The series of articles on the rôle of Catholic culture in the Hispanic American republics, appearing currently in *The Catholic Historical Review*, XXV (January and April *et seq.*, 1940), should be read in conjunction with the above mentioned essays, which were not intended to discuss specifically the dominant aesthetic and religious influences that have given so much of the form and substance to the republics south of us. These papers are scheduled for publication in a separate volume in 1941. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCIV (July 1939), contains twenty-one articles on the general topics of "Democracy and the Americas," "The Democracies on the Defensive," "What Do the Americas Need," and "The Lima Conference and the Future of Pan-Americanism." These articles are subjective in character, and primarily concerned with present-day ideologies and *machtpolitik*. Other recent literature on the same general theme worthy of mention are the four papers included in the *Principal Addresses, Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Education, Washington, D. C., November 9 and 10, 1939*, Department of State, Washington, D. C., 1939; Herbert E. Bolton, "Some Cultural Assets of Latin America," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XX (February 1940), 3-11; the dozen articles in the *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union, Commemorative Issue, the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Pan-American Union, April, 1940*; and *Foreign Policy Reports*, XV, nos. 10, 18, 23 (August 1 and December 1, 1939, February 15, 1940), and XVI, no. 10 (August 1940). The most unique contribution to the general topic was that of the weekly news magazine *Time*, July 15, 1940, p. 25: "The only things the Spaniards gave the Indians were small pox, influenza and tuberculosis."

Three recent books of interest on the Spanish missions of the Southwest are: George Kubler, *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico, In the Colonial Period and since the American Occupation*, The Taylor Museum, Colorado Springs, 1940, 232 pp.; *Mission San Xavier del Bac, Arizona, A descriptive and historical guide*, New York, 1940, 57 pp.; and Maude Robson Gunthrop, *With a Sketch Book Along the Old Mission Trail*, Caldwell, Idaho, 1940, 147 pp. Kubler's volume is a scholarly contribution, whereas the others are of a popular nature. All are copiously illustrated.

J. Lloyd Mechem published an excellent paper, "Mexican Federalism—Fact or Fiction," in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for March 1940. The trend toward dictatorship and the instruments created and operating at present to per-

petuate the Mexican absolutism of the present is traced. His conclusion is that there is no hope for democracy in Mexico.

"The Economic Regime of the Jesuit Missions in Eighteenth Century Sonora," by Theodore E. Treutlein, appeared in *The Pacific Historical Review* for September 1939. The paper is based chiefly upon Father Pfefferkorn's description of the manner in which the frontier mission functioned from 1756 to 1767. It is time for others to follow Dr. Treutlein's lead in pointing out that there was nothing wrong with making the natives work reasonably hard to support themselves and their missions. The missions generally were so well run that they became the objects first of the envy then of the greed of the rising middle class.

The *Revista de Historia de America*, published in Mexico by the Instituto Pan Americano de Geografía e Historia, now in its eighth number, carries easily the most complete general bibliography of current books and periodical literature on Hispanic American history to be found. It takes on the character of a current supplement to the annually published *Handbook of Latin American Studies*.

Of particular interest to Americanists is the article "Padre José de Acosta (1540-1600)," in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu* for January-June 1940. In this Father León Lopetegui, S. J., straightens out the chronological anarchy existing among authors regarding dates in the life of Acosta who gave up a chair of theology in Spain to become a missionary in Peru. As a missionary, as rector of the Jesuit college in Lima, as provincial of the Jesuits in Peru, Acosta was in good vantage points for the observations which he made in his celebrated *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, published in Seville in 1590 and later translated into various European tongues.

J. M. ESPINOSA

VARIA

Chicagoans, even those who do not wish to make history a hobby, are indeed passing up an opportunity for healthy, profitable, and enjoyable reading if they neglect the quarterly *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*. This State and its people have played an important rôle in national progress; its past has been told in books; phases of its development and the characters involved are constantly appearing in the *Journal*. As an example the June 1940 number contains "Streeterville Saga," by Kenneth F. Broomell and Harlow M. Church, the story of Captain George Wellington Streeter, who for thirty years "claimed, by right of original discovery, the fabulously valuable 186-acre tract of land running from the river north to Lincoln Park and from Michigan Boulevard east to Lake Michigan—the area which now comprises the better part of Chicago's famed Gold Coast."

The article is abundantly illustrated with pictures of "Cap" and the shotgun which he used to defend his claims. Other pages contain "The Story of an Ordinary Man," by Paul M. Angle, editor of the *Journal*. This is a series of letters of one William H. Tebbetts, written to members of his family in New Hampshire from 1853 to 1862, and edited by Mr. Angle with a brief introduction. "We honor John Deere as the inventor of the steel plow, but we pay scant attention to thousands who used his plow to turn the matted prairies into fertile farms." Tebbetts' life as plowman, merchant, school-teacher, and soldier is unfolded in the letters, until he "was struck by a ball . . . and knocked down on the last day of the fight" for Fort Donaldson.

In the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for April 1939, recently issued, the greater number of the 205 pages are given over to two monographs that have to be catalogued under Latin American affairs. Samuel Flagg Bemis writes the first, "Early Diplomatic Missions from Buenos Aires to the United States 1811-1824," in the competent and scholarly manner so characteristic of his works on international relations. The other monograph is a reprint in French of the work of Father Adolphe Cabon, "Un Siecle et Demi de Journalisme en Haïti." Father Cabon went from France to Haiti in 1895 and returned to France in 1919. He was rector of the Séminaire Saint-Martial at Port-au-Prince for the last ten years of his stay. During his final six months on the island Father Cabon contributed his study of journalism week by week to a small, mimeographed magazine called the *Petite Revue Hebdomaire*. There is perhaps only one complete file of this *Revue* extant, we are told by Clarence S. Brigham who writes the introduction in the *Proceedings*. Many of the island printers and publishers described by Cabon emigrated to the United States in 1792-1794, and hence the reprinting of the notable history of Haitian journalism comes within the scope of the Antequarian Society's publications.

An exceptionally well-written article by Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin entitled "Some Aspects of the Know-Nothing Movement Reconsidered," appeared in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* for April 1940. A survey analysis is made of the Know-Nothings as political pawns. The "nativists" or "Americans" were in great part made up of scheming politicians who invented rabble-rousing accusations against Catholics and fostered racial hatred and intolerance for political gain. Since the Catholics offered no particular reason for the attacks in their actions, clearly Know-Nothingism, A. P. Aism, and Ku Klux Klanism have enlisted a great amount of insincere members.

Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Hawaii 1885-1889, by Charles Callan Tansill, is the first monograph in the historical series of the *Fordham University Studies*. Such studies, the results of the research of the faculty members, are to appear "from time to

time as independent essays without pretence at periodical publication." The monograph in 53 pages has ample documentary citations and a good bibliography, and, over and above its timeliness because of the present Japanese position in Far East affairs, is a valuable contribution to the historical writings on the relations between Hawaii and the United States.

Jeffersonian Democracy in South Carolina, by John Harold Wolfe, appears as the first number of volume 24 of *The James Sprunt Studies* in history and political science published at the University of North Carolina. It is a cautiously scholarly work in 286 pages, the outcome of long research carefully delimited. "Throughout the study an effort has been made to show how Jeffersonian Democracy affected South Carolina; but, in order to maintain a proper perspective, a large portion of the discussion has centered around the part that South Carolinians played in the developments which concerned the whole nation" (p. 286).

The *Report 1938-1939 of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association* has a number of articles in both the English and French sections which are of concern especially to people of the Commonwealth. Some of the papers have wider significance, as for instance, the one by Right Reverend Donald R. Macdonald, D. P., on "The Honourable and Right Reverend Alexander Macdonell, D. D., First Bishop of Upper Canada," and that by the Reverend Brother Alfred on "Francis Collins, First Catholic Journalist in Upper Canada."

Several new periodicals have recently begun publication. *The American Catholic Sociological Review* under the editorship of Ralph A. Gallagher, S. J., first appeared in March of 1940 as the quarterly of the American Catholic Sociological Society. *The Pamphleteer*, a monthly containing categorical lists of new pamphlets, commenced in May of this year. A modest beginning was made by *The Pan American* in its April-June number. The purpose of the magazine, which is soon to be a monthly, is to foster and cement inter-American good will. *Pan American News*, a bi-weekly information service published by the Foreign Policy Association of Washington appeared in mimeograph form on February 1, 1940.

Book Reviews

Dictionary of American History. Prepared under the General Editorship of James Truslow Adams and R. V. Coleman. Five Volumes. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1940. Pp. 444, 430, 432, 512, 515.

After four years of collaborative effort on the part of more than a thousand scholars there comes to light the *Dictionary of American History*. The five volumes total up to 2,333 pages in double columns containing 6,425 separate articles on colonial and republican United States history beginning alphabetically with the A. B. Plot and ending with Zwaanendael. Moreover, an index volume now in preparation is promised before the end of the year. This collection of factual, concisely, and objectively written articles entailed no end of thought and discussion as to policy, painstaking editorial labor, skillful planning, careful assignments of topics to a qualified writing corps, judicious allotment of space for the respective articles, sifting and exclusion of local items, and adoptions of the general topics for special treatment. James Truslow Adams in the foreword describes the method of procedure of the Advisory Council and scope and purpose of the work, and indicates a method of reading continuously and widely through the volumes by following the meticulous cross references, so that broader knowledge of the development of the United States may be obtained.

The principal claim to public attention made by the publishers of this work is its usefulness to a great number of readers as a ready reference set. Undoubtedly for some of the indolent it will be a whole library. To questions about facts it gives answers which otherwise might not be found without extensive research. In this respect busy editors, journalists, and reference librarians will bless its advent. It puts in concise form the results of many years of research throughout this country and knowledge unavailable in general libraries and inaccessible to many students concerning specific American trends, events, places, names, systems and institutions of all kinds, industries, commerce, religions, policies, foreign relations, and so forth. Thus, it supplements the biographical sketches in the *Dictionary of American Biography* and approximates the latter in style and format.

While the work must prove to be of great utility in general there will be inevitably criticisms from individual sources and from individual dissenters. Nearly all of the critics will be refuted by arguments from the pro side. No one can deny, however, that the purpose of the work has been achieved and the ideal aimed at accomplished. It must be remembered that this is a dictionary type of writing where color must be subordinated in briefly stated paragraphs. Carping will not

come because of the treatises on economics, mathematics, chemistry, government, fisheries, and such, but rather because too little space has been given to one or other item of local or individual interest. For instance, some will not agree with the description of The Bible, because it is narrowed down to the English translation and its influence on religion or morals in this country, beginning in fact where most accounts in encyclopedias leave off. Opinions, too, will vary as to the reason for giving Baseball about the same space as Colleges and Universities. Controversial subjects are bound to cause controversy, but it seems to this reviewer that more arguments will be settled than started by the use of the *Dictionary of American History*. Professors in colleges who desire their students to read books will not take to this ready method of getting information without following the prescribed reading lists. Some scholars may term the bibliographies appended to the articles as popular or secondary, and the editors will refer to the foreword for an explanation. All in all, the *Dictionary of American History* is useful, informative, and necessary for the library.

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Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War, 1747-1755. (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. XXIX, French Series, Vol. II.) Edited with Introduction and Notes by Theodore C. Pease and Ernestine Jenison. Springfield, Illinois, 1940. Pp. lii+977.

This thick volume of nearly one thousand pages, half of it in the original French and the other half in English translation, gives as nearly complete a picture as can be had of the Illinois country during the eight years immediately preceding the war that was to decide the fate of the French Empire in North America. The notes identify the personages, great or small, "who labored to maintain the cause of France in the West." The introduction sums up the situation. The then existing posts in the Illinois country are listed, as well as the Indian tribes that were to play a part in the final struggle for Illinois and the interior. The cause of the Indian menace, it is pointed out, was the English trader, who was not told by bureaucrats four thousand miles away "where he should buy his goods and where and for what price he should sell his furs." The few pages opposing the methods of the English trader to those of the French in their dealing with the Indians set forth briefly, but luminously, a state of affairs which had prevailed for more than a century. By 1750 no change in the French method could have been expected. Instead of being given free scope, the French merchants were hampered from every quarter, by the Minister in Paris and by officials down to the pettiest commandant in a remote outpost in the wilderness. To put the matter colloquially, in these conditions the French did not have a chance. The only marvel is how they were able to hold out so long against their English competitors. This post-

ponement of the inevitable outcome is the history of the Anglo-French half-century struggle for supremacy in North America. The introduction also presents the French actors, La Galissonnière, "the ablest man to rule New France in the eighteenth century," and, we may add, probably the ablest man ever sent to govern the colony; Vaudreuil, the last governor general, who was governor of Louisiana during these years; among lesser worthies, Céloron de Blainville, the Chevalier de Bertet, Charles de Raymond, the commandant of the Illinois country, Macarty, who, "sometimes one judges in his cups, was dictating long and confused dispatches to Vaudreuil."

"This story could not have been told one-tenth as well as it has been, were it not for the papers of the Marquis de Vaudreuil which are in the Loudoun Papers in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California." These, say the editors in the preface, throw "a great light on conditions in Illinois and in the West generally where heretofore there was deep darkness." The thirty-three documents from this heretofore little known source are supplemented by papers in the Public Record Office, by letters to or from officials in Canada and Louisiana, not a few of which have been exploited by historians and students of the period. The letters from the French official archives are not always printed in full; the editors have selected those passages which treat directly of the Illinois country. As in the other two volumes of the French series, the French text is on the upper half of the page, the English on the lower. The three volumes of the French series edited by Dr. Pease and his collaborators provide the student with ample material for a new interpretation of ninety years of French exploitation of the Illinois country.

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INDEX

MID-AMERICA

VOLUME XXII

INDEXER'S NOTE

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